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RULES AND REGULATIONS

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22. All communications respecting the use of the Library must be addressed to the Librarian.

HENRY GUPPY.

N.B.—It is earnestly requested that any Reader observing a defect in or damage to any Book, Manuscript, or Map will point out the same to the Librarian.

ADMISSION OF THE GENERAL PUBLIC AND VISITORS.

The general public are admitted to view the Library on Tuesday and Friday afternoons between the hours of two and six. Visitors to Manchester from a distance, at any other time when the Library is open, will be admitted for the same purpose upon application to the Librarian.

BULLETIN OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY
MANCHESTER

EDITED
BY THE
LIBRARIAN

VOL. 8 JANUARY, 1924 NO. 1

LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

APPEAL FOR HELP FROM TOKYO UNIVERSITY.

THE authorities of the Imperial University of Tokyo have appealed to the universities and other learned bodies in this country for help to repair the appalling loss which that national institution has sustained, through the disastrous fire which raged for two days following the calamitous earthquake of September 1st, and in its course reduced to ashes the buildings of the university library with their equipment of 700,000 volumes.

The appeal has met with an immediate and sympathetic response, and already grants have been made by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, by the University of Manchester, and by the Governors of the John Rylands Library.

The matter has been very warmly taken up by the Marquess Curzon, in his dual capacity of Foreign Minister and Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and he has appealed to the British Academy to do everything in its power to organize these gifts. The Earl of Balfour, as President of the British Academy, thereupon issued a circular letter, under date of the 27th November, calling attention to the urgency of the appeal, and at the same time pointing out that unless there be some effective attempt to organize the work of restoration, it must surely fail of its full effect, that confusion and duplication will inevitably occur, that much will be left undone that might have been done, and that much will be done twice over.

With the object of providing for the co-ordination of the various efforts, Lord Balfour proposed to the Council of the British Academy the formation of a representative Committee to deal with the problem as a whole, with the result that on the 5th of December such a Committee was appointed. Five days later this Committee held its

first meeting, when an Executive, with power to add to its members, was constituted as follows :—

The Earl of Balfour (Chairman) ; Professor Thompson of the Royal Society ; Sir Frederick G. Kenyon, Director of the British Museum ; Mr. Edmund Gosse, C.B. ; Sir Sidney Lee ; Dr. Alexander Hill, Secretary of the Bureau of the British Universities ; Sir E. Denison Ross ; Sir Alfred Gray, K.C. ; Sir Frederick Macmillan ; Sir E. Hodder Williams ; Mr. Humphry Milford of the Oxford Press ; Dr. Hagberg Wright, Librarian of the London Library ; Mr. Charles F. Clay, Chairman of the Publishers' Association ; Dr. Guppy, Librarian of the John Rylands Library ; and Sir Israel Gollancz, Secretary of the British Academy.

Since it is unlikely that the Executive will meet before the present issue of the BULLETIN is in circulation, we take this opportunity of emphasizing the urgency of the appeal, and of inviting those of our readers, and there must be many, who will be desirous of participating in this practical expression of sympathy with our friends in the Far East, to communicate with us at their earliest convenience.

We, on our side, shall be glad to undertake the responsibility of receiving their contributions, as in the case of their gifts to Louvain, and of arranging for their transmission to Tokyo, as soon as arrangements for shipment of the fruits of this appeal have been completed.

We would ask intending benefactors to be good enough to send to us, in the first instance, lists of the books they wish to offer, so as to obviate the needless duplication referred to by the Earl of Balfour.

Offers of help either in money or books may be sent to : The Librarian, The John Rylands Library, Manchester.

LOUVAIN LIBRARY.

Since the publication of our last report on the British contribution of books towards the reconstruction of the Library of the University of Louvain, we have shipped to Louvain thirty-three cases, containing 1450 volumes, which carries the total number of volumes already transmitted to Louvain, under this scheme, to the substantial figure of 43,694.

We have on several occasions expressed the hope that the ultimate total of the British gift, may be not less than 50,000 volumes ; and we are glad to be able to announce that the realization of that hope is brought appreciably nearer through the generous offer of Miss

Renouf, the daughter of the late eminent Egyptologist, Sir Peter Le Page Renouf, to present her late father's library, consisting of some thousands of volumes, to Louvain, on condition that it be kept together, and be known as the "Renouf Library." This condition has been gladly accepted by the Recteur Magnifique of the University (Monseigneur Ladeuze), who in sending his grateful acknowledgment of the most recent shipment, adds: "Pour tout cela, je vous dis mon plus cordial merci, en vous proclamant à nouveau le premier de nos restaurateurs, en ce qui concerne notre fonds de livres."

RECOVERY OF A LOST TATIAN TRACT.

In the present issue, Dr. Rendel Harris makes another of his identifications in the region of lost literature connected with the early Christian Church.

The present discovery, or recovery, relates to what Dr. Harris believes to be a lost tract of Tatian on "The Perfection of Discipleship," which must have been written in the last quarter of the second century, some years later than the same writer's "Diatessaron."

The tract is found ascribed to St. Ephraim (the great Syrian Father of the second century) in the same manuscript with his commentary on the "Diatessaron" of Tatian, a mine which has been worked over already by a number of scholars, who have failed to locate, or at least to identify this particular lode of ore. The method which Dr. Harris seems to follow is always to dig a few feet deeper than the previous excavators, with the result that he has been able to add already several volumes to the library of recovered early Christian literature.

A translation of the text of the tract, made direct from the Armenian is given. It contains an unwritten saying of Jesus, hitherto known in another form, from quotations by Origen and Didymus of Alexandria. The form in the tract is "Our life-giving Saviour says, He that is near the fire is near Me, and he that is far from Me, is far from the life." The form as previously known to us gives "the Kingdom" instead of "the life."

We congratulate Dr. Harris, upon this noteworthy piece of literary detective work.

In view of the importance of this discovery, which was first made public in the course of his lecture in the library on the 12th December,

we issued a limited number of pre-prints of the article, so that those present at the lecture, might have the opportunity of following Dr. Harris through all the intricacies of his investigations. Copies of this pre-print may still be obtained, price eighteen pence.

BURIAL-PLACE OF MOSES.

As we go to press, Dr. Rendel Harris has furnished us with the following note, which relates to still another of his discoveries. The note is preliminary to fuller treatment of the subject, which we hope to publish in our next issue :

"In discoursing in the last issue of the BULLETIN on the fragments of a lost Christian Apology of the second century, preserved in the *Acts of Catherine*, I threw out the suggestion that the reason why the saint was carried to Mount Sinai by the angels, was the desire of the monastic novelist to give her a burial after the manner of Moses in the book of Deuteronomy. So the saint prays that her body may never be found, and disappears.

"And now the evidence has turned up, from an actual manuscript once in the possession of the Sinai convent, that there was a tradition on the part of the confraternity that Moses himself was buried in the Holy Mountain. This throws a fresh light on the composition of the Catherine document, and the translation of the Saint. Jebel Katherin and Jebel Mousa have now a good reason for being adjacent to one another. On this matter more may be expected presently."

HISTORICAL ARTICLES.

A very welcome appreciation of the value and importance of the historical articles which appear in our pages from time to time, has reached us from the University of Colorado. Professor James F. Willard, whose name is known to our readers, writes : "Your BULLETIN has become one of the magazines all mediævalists must refer to. Your earlier library material may be more valuable, and the articles on the same may rightly occupy a larger amount of space ; but so long as the Manchester group and its allies write for the BULLETIN, it must be looked into with care by all mediævalists."

This is only one of many similar testimonies that are constantly reaching us, but we are tempted to print this one, because the present issue contains three articles by members of the group of historians to

which Professor Willard refers. The first is another of Professor Tout's illuminating studies in the history of the evolution of the administrative and political machinery of this country, during the Middle Ages. The second is a product of the Manchester History School, by Mr. B. Wilkinson, who is a graduate of that School, and consequently one of Professor Tout's disciples. In the development of his subject, "The Authorisation of Chancery Writs under Edward III," Mr. Wilkinson has brought out quite clearly the distinction between the Chancery as a department and as a general secretariat, a new point which will explain, if we mistake not, a good deal which, hitherto, has been obscure. The third article is by Mr. C. G. Crump, formerly Assistant-Keeper in the Public Record Office, on "The Criticism of Records," which should prove most useful to students, dealing as it does with some current fallacies. It was originally contributed as a paper to the Manchester Historical Conference, and all who heard it, thought well of it, and were anxious that it should be printed and preserved.

NEW LIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF INDIA. 1707-1720.

Students of the history of India will welcome the new light which Dr. Mingana is able to shed upon one of the most momentous pages in India's history, by means of the summarized translation of what is probably an unique document, which he has discovered in the Rylands collection of Arabic manuscripts, and which hitherto seems to have escaped the attention of scholars.

The document is important on three grounds. Firstly, by reason of the competence of the author Muḥammad Jazā'iri, who was the tutor of the grand-children of the famous Moghul Emperor Aurangzib, to deal with the history of his pupil Jahāndār Shah, and the events which immediately preceded and followed it, since he must have had a thorough and intimate knowledge of what he was writing about. Secondly, by reason of the clearness of his description of the causes of the numerous conflicts that took place in India under his own eyes between A.D. 1707 and 1720. And thirdly, by reason of the great number of unknown details that he adds to our knowledge, and the corrections which he enables us to make in many historical points concerning the reign of ten Emperors, usurpers, or pretenders who held sway in India some forty years before the battles

of Plassey (A.D. 1757) and Buxar (A.D. 1764) deprived the descendants of Akbar of the real power that they had previously wielded in that country for more than 200 years.

ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY IN 1923.

The additions to the shelves of the library during the year 1923, numbered 3625 volumes, of which 3095 were acquired by purchase, and 530 by gift. That the number of books added by purchase during that period is smaller than was generally the case a year or two ago, is easily accounted for by reason of the abnormally high prices at which books are now published, as compared with those which ruled in pre-war days.

The acquisition by purchase include a number of important sets, which add to the strength of several departments in which the library is already fairly well equipped. Indeed, it has been our constant endeavour to keep our collections abreast of the times in those branches of learning in which the research students and other readers, who make regular use of the library, may reasonably expect to find the latest or best authorities available.

As an indication of the character of the additions, apart from current literature, we mention a few taken almost at random :—

MANUSCRIPTS : Two Armenian MSS. of the Gospels of the 16th and 16th and 17th cent. respectively ; Greek MS. of the Gospels of the 13th cent. ; Beda : "Martyrologium," translated into Dutch, dated 1472 ; Franciscus Philelphus : "Convivia" and two other pieces, Italian MS. with scribe's name, and dated 1459 ; Beda : "Expositio de structura templi Salomonis."—Cassiodorus : "In Cantica canticorum"—"Quotatio capitulorum biblio." XII-XVth cent. ; Eutropius et Paulus Diaconus : "De gestis Romanorum," XVth cent. (France) ; William of Pagham : "Oculus sacerdotorum," late XIV-XVth cent. (England) ; Petrus de Riga : "Paraphrasis metrica librorum veteris et novi Testamenti," XIIIth cent. (France) ; "Scriptum salutiferum de mandatis Dei," and other treatises. XVth cent. (England) ; Thomas Aquinas : "De Veritatibus" ; "Summa de tota natura Divinitatis" ; Hugo de St. Victor : "De temptationibus." XVth cent. (England) ; "Diurnale Cisterciense." XVth cent. (England) ; "Diurnale." XIVth cent. (England) ; Petrus de Riga : "Aurora." XIIIth cent. ; "Breviarium ad usum

Fratrum Minorum." XVth cent. (Italy); Miscellanea: Eneae Sylvii de Piccolominеis, Leonardi Justiniani, S. Jeronimi. XV-XVIth cent. (Italy); S. Bonaventura: "De Imitatione Christi," etc. XVth cent. (Germany); Beda: "Liber scintillarum." 1449 (Italy); "S. Bernardini Senensis Sermones." XVth cent. (Italy); Guido Colonna: "Historia Trojana." XVth cent. (Italy); "Concordantia bibliorum." XIVth cent.; Rolewinck (W.), "Fasciculus temporum." XVth cent. (Germany); St. Anselm: "Elucidarium." XIVth cent.; Nicholas de Lyra: "Postilla super psalterium," and S. Jeronimi: "Psalterium." XVth cent. (Germany); Raimondus de Pennafort: "Summa de casibus penitentae," et "Summa matrimonii," with Johannis Andreae: "Summula." XIV-XVth cent.; "Vocabula Servii." XVIth cent. (Italy); "Biblia Sacra latina" cum picturis. XIIIth cent. (France); "Rituale ad usum ord. Canon Reg. S. Augustini." XVth cent. (England); "Les Coustumes de Bretagne." XVth cent. (France), etc.

Amongst the printed books the following may be mentioned :—

ART, ARCHITECTURE, etc.: Hennessy (U. P.), "Early Chinese Jades," 1923; Hobson (R. R.), "The Wares of the Ming Dynasty," 1923; Waley (A.), "Chinese Painting," 1923; Tillyard (E. M. W.), "The Hope Vases," 1923; "Corpus Vasorum antiquorum," 1921, etc.; King (W. A. H.), "Chelsea Porcelain," 1922; Pfuhl (E.), "Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen," 1923, 3 vols.; Jéquier (G.), "L'architecture dans l'ancienne Egypte: Les Temples Ramessides," 1923; Sagarra (F. de), "Sigillografia Catalana," 1922, 3 vols.; "Sir Christopher Wren Bicentenary Memorial Volume," 1923; Drinkwater (J.) and Rutherston (A.), "Claud Lovat Fraser," 1923; Martin (Henri), "La Miniature française du XIIIe au XVe siècle," 1923, 4to; Courboin (F.), "Histoire illustrée de la Gravure en France," 1923, 2 vols., 4to; "Der Codex Aureus der Münchener Staats Bibliothek," vols. 3-5, 1923, Fol.; Haebler (C.), "Geschichte des Spanischen Frühdruckes in Stammbäumen," 1923, Fol.; "Collezione Artistiche dei Palazzi Apostolici," vol. 4, 1922, 4to; Marucchi (O.), "I Monumenti del Museo Cristiano Pio Lateranense," 1910, 4to; Sarre (F.), "Islamic Bookbinding," 1923, 4to.

HISTORY, ARCHÆOLOGY, etc.: Calmet (A.), "Histoire de Lorraine," 1745-47, 7 vols., Fol.; "Hansard's Parliamentary Debates," 1899-1922, 263 vols., 8vo; "Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte," 1860-86, 26 vols., 8vo; "Bulletin du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques," 1882-1920, 39 vols., 8vo; Cartaillac (E.), "Dictionnaire archéologique de la Gaule," 1875-1919, 2 vols., 4to; "Dictionnaire Topographique de la France," 1871-1911, 24 vols., 4to.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE: A collection of late 18th and early 19th century English novels, 116 vols., 8vo; "Les Classiques Français du Moyen Age," 1-30, 1921-23, 30 vols., 8vo; "Bibliothèque Méridionale: 2me Série," 1891-1915, 17 vols., 8vo; "Gesellschaft für Romanische Literatur," 1920-23, 42 vols., 8vo; "The Works of Daniel Defoe," 1903, 16 vols., 8vo; "The Caerleon Edition of the Works of Arthur Machen," 1923, 9 vols., 8vo; "The Manaton Edition of the Works of John Galsworthy," vols. 1-6, 1923; "The Norwich Edition of the Works of George Borrow," vols. 1-9, 1923; "The Novels of Jane Austen," Edited by R. W. Chapman, 1923, 5 vols., 8vo; Tate (Nahum), A Collection of his Plays, 1678, etc., 11 vols., 4to; Crowe (John), A Collection of his Plays, 1671, etc., 16 vols., 4to; Dilke (Thomas), A Collection of his Plays, 1696, etc., 10 vols., 4to; Lee (Nathaniel), A Collection of his Plays, 1694, etc., 13 vols., 4to; Cotton (Charles), "Poems," 1689, 8vo; Lyly (John), "Sixe Court Comedies," 1632, 8vo; Zola (Emile), "Œuvres complètes illustrées," 1906, 19 vols., 8vo; Maupassant (Guy de), "Œuvres complètes illustrées," 1901-06, 29 vols., 8vo; Masriera Colomer (A.), "Diccionario de diccionarios, castellano, latino, portuguēs, francés, italiano, catalán, inglés y alemán," 1917, 4 vols., 4to.

THEOLOGY: Acta Martyrum et sanctorum [In Syriac], Ed. P. Bedjan, 1890-97, 7 vols., 8vo; Assemanus (J. S.), "Kalendaria ecclesiæ universæ," 1755, 6 vols., 4to; "Heures à l'usage de Paris," Paris: A. Verard, 1495, 8vo; Aeneas Sylvius [Pius, II.], "Epistolae in Cardinalatu editae" [Strassburg: the "R" Printer, *circa* 1465], Fol.; Turrecremata (Joannes de), "Quaestiones evangeliorum de tempore," Rome: J. Scheurener, 1487, Fol.; Thomas Aquinas: "Summa theologia," Padua: Albrecht of Stendhal, 1473, Fol.; Duns Scotus: "Super secundo libro sententiarum cum tabula," Venice: Rizus, 1490, Fol.

GIFTS TO THE LIBRARY.

The gifts to the library during the year numbered 530 volumes, amongst which were many works which it would have been difficult, in some cases impossible, to obtain through the ordinary channels of supply. Notably: "The Apocalypse in Latin and French: Bodleian MS. Douce 180" (Roxburghe Club), 1922, 4to, presented by Mr. C. H. St. John Hornby. A set of the "Novitates Zoologicae," 1894-1923, in 30 volumes, presented by Lord Rothschild. "Hansard's Parliamentary Debates," 1906-11, in 81 volumes, a very welcome collection of Reports of the Board of Trade, Board of Education, Local Government Board, etc., a long range of the Army List, and other publications, which add to the completeness of our collections, presented by Sir Lees Knowles, Bart, "The Chairman's Album and distinguished Visitors Book," in connection with the Manchester Royal Jubilee Exhibition, 1887, containing autographs of all the notable people who attended, presented by L. B. Lee, Esq. "The Tomb of Puyemré at Thebes . . . 1922-23," 2 vols., Folio, in The Robert de Peyster Tytus Memorial Series, presented by Mrs. E. J. Tytus.

LIBRARY LECTURES.

The following is a list of the lecture arrangements for the second half of the present session.

EVENING LECTURES (7.30 p.m.).

Wednesday, 9th January, 1924. "Moses and the origin of the Religion of Israel." By A. S. Peake, M.A., D.D., etc., Rylands Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 13th February, 1924. "Some Monuments of the Great Persecution." By W. M. Calder, M.A., Hulme Professor of Greek in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 12th March, 1924. "Shakespeare's Fortunes in the Mind of Europe." By C. H. Herford, Litt.D., Honorary Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 9th April, 1924. "Shakespeare's 'Henry the Eighth': a Blend of Tragedy and Masque." By Richard G. Moulton, M.A., Ph.D., Litt.D., etc., Emeritus Professor of Literary Theory and Interpretation in the University of Chicago.

AFTERNOON LECTURES (3 p.m.).

Tuesday, 22nd January, 1924. "The Poems of Henry Vaughan." By J. Rendel Harris, Litt.D., LL.D., D.Theol., etc.

Tuesday, 8th April, 1924. "Some Curiosities of Mythology in the Odyssey." By Richard G. Moulton, M.A., Ph.D., Litt.D., etc.

INSTALLATION OF THE CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY.

The ceremonial installation of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres as Chancellor of the University of Manchester, whose unopposed election to the office in succession to Viscount Morley, of Blackburn, was referred to in our last issue, took place in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, on Saturday, the 12th of November, in the presence of an assemblage of not fewer than 3000 people.

Regret has been expressed that the ceremony did not take place in the Whitworth Hall of the University, but for such a noteworthy occasion the seating capacity of the University hall would have been quite inadequate, whilst the Free Trade Hall, invested as it is with the dignified character of a great forum, provided it with an equally appropriate setting.

The ceremonial was simple and dignified, even stately, from beginning to end; to borrow the words of Burke which were quoted by Professor Alexander in another connection, Lord Crawford was admitted into a distinguished succession "with mild majesty and sober pomp." Of pomp there was just a seemly measure, and its sobriety made the significance of the event felt the more acutely.

The congregation having assembled, and the new Chancellor having been conducted to his seat for installation, the Vice-Chancellor (Sir Henry Miers), in welcoming Lord Crawford to the position of head of the University, said they regarded with pride the great family tradition which their new Chancellor inherited, and the record of public service which he had achieved. They shared the esteem in which his learned and stimulating contributions to knowledge, and particularly to the history of Italian art, were held. "May your advent to Manchester," said Sir Henry, "be an inspiration to those who desire to redeem this city from the unseemly conditions of its industrial life and restore as far as may be its ancient heritage of beauty. As a resident in Lancashire, and one familiar with its needs,

you will doubtless agree it is the duty of a great University, planted in the midst of an industrial area, to cultivate all fields of knowledge, and not only those which are directly associated with its commercial applications. Under your Chancellorship there is no danger lest the activities of the University be in any such way restricted." Recalling that Lord Crawford's grandfather amassed a great collection of ancient manuscripts which was now one of the most valued treasures of Manchester s famous library, and that his father gave to the nation a great astronomical observatory, Sir Henry said they felt sure that the Chancellor, inheriting such traditions of learning and research, would support the University in its endeavours to promote the higher studies in all branches of learning. "We welcome you," he said in conclusion, "with full confidence that the interests of the University are safe in your hands, that we may turn to you for advice and guidance, not only in times of trouble but in the normal progress of our affairs, and that you will be ready to support, both by your presence and by your influence, the University which to-day acclaims you as its Chancellor."

Lord Crawford, responding, said: "I express to you my cordial and my heartfelt thanks for having invested me with the greatest honour which it is within the power of Lancashire to confer. Under such conditions it was natural that I should desire to some extent to share my honour with my illustrious predecessor in office. After resigning the Chancellorship the late Lord Morley consented to accept an honorary degree from the University. He wrote to me expressing his satisfaction. 'It is,' he said, 'an uncommon gratification, and when you name it as a mark of affection you used the word which, as a born Lancashire man, I am bound to prize and covet beyond and aside from all others.' Alas, that Lord Morley should not be here in person to-day to accept that compliment, for he truly loved the University. He identified himself with everything relating to its welfare and to its interests. And I, too, who have close affinities with Lancashire—for I live in a township equi-distant between Manchester and Liverpool, in an ancient and loyal borough, which the Mayor of Wigan claims, geographically at least, and I believe he puts his claim no higher, to be the very heart and centre of the County Palatine—I, too, feel deep affection and regard for everything which shall amplify and illuminate and enrich the life of our throbbing community.

"How much the University can contribute to that ideal. How emphatic its duty to analyse the special needs of our district, to embrace and to comprehend them all, and thus to respond to all the varied and complex requirements of our country. But never, never at the cost of restricting the scope or the range of its studies; and above all, never relaxing the highest standards of its intellectual life. Upon the University, or perhaps I should say upon the zeal and the ardour of its professional staff, must primarily depend the solemn duty of keeping bright the lamp of learning. *Arduus ad solem*, as your motto says. And have we not often read that wisdom is more beautiful than the sun and above all the order of the stars? Yes, as your Vice-Chancellor said just now, the supreme objective must always remain the cultivation of the higher studies; the investigation of fundamental problems which can receive the continuous and searching investigation they require only through the agency of a University. This, I say, is the special province of the permanent staff.

"To those who are students of to-day I would offer one word of respectful advice. The University offers you full measure of learning, of recreation, and of fellowship, but in return it asks for self-discipline, for control of the mind through subordination to the general interests of the community. May not the University also claim in return the affection of its young society. I shall always hope that every aspect of your varied ambitions may collaborate in the service of the University as a whole; that science may realise its duties to the arts, and that the humanities shall never forget their obligations to chemistry, or to engineering, or to medicine; in short, that groups which appear to diverge, while concentrating on their own particular objectives, shall combine in acknowledging their debt to the unity and to the catholicity of learning as a whole. You students will best seek your access to the realms of knowledge along the pathway of self-discipline. I think that you start on your journey well equipped to learn the great lessons of life as well as the lessons of the schools. Courage you assuredly possess, because you come from a brave stock; independence, too, because you are Lancashire people; but the virtue of courage and the merit of independence are not in themselves all-sufficient. Discipline is their best ally. Without it courage is too often misdirected, and it is from and through discipline that independence draws its richest inspiration."

Having once more expressed thanks for the honour done to him, Lord Crawford concluded: "I lay my services at the feet of the University with all devotion, *Salva sit universitas nostra.*"

Professor Alexander, who acted as public orator, then presented the following ladies and gentlemen for honorary degrees: *Doctor of Divinity:* Dr. Cosmo Gordon Lang, Archbishop of York. *Doctor of Laws:* Dr. John George Adami, Vice-Chancellor of Liverpool University; Lord Justice Sir John Eldon Bankes; Mr. David Young Cameron, etcher and landscape-painter; Miss Sybil Thorndike, dramatic artist; and Sir Thomas Herbert Warren, President of Magdalen College, Oxford. *Doctor of Letters:* Mr. John Masefield, poet; and Mrs. Eugènie Strong, Sub-Director of the British School of Archæology at Rome. *Doctor of Science:* Sir Arthur Keith, eminent anatomist.

Lord Crawford, by his choice of the recipients for honorary degrees at this, his first degree ceremony, illustrated his breadth of understanding of high accomplishment in many fields. It was the most original, diverse, and yet thoroughly unassailable list of the kind that has yet been presented to any University, on such an occasion. The tragic art of Miss Sybil Thorndike, the poetic genius of Mr. John Masefield, and the fine etched lines of Mr. Cameron being, each and all of them, just such triumphant exertions of the striving mind and eager heart as universities may fitly honour. There is always something peculiarly satisfactory in the conferment of any of these genuinely valued distinctions upon those whom fortune has endowed with choice mental powers, whilst withholding from them in youth the help and happiness of residence at a University.

Another happy feature of the day's ceremonies was the genuine and manifest cordiality of the relations between the University, and the Corporations both of Manchester and of many neighbouring towns. The impressive representation of Lancashire municipalities in the University procession, and the cordiality of the University's hosts at the Manchester Town Hall afterwards, when the Lord Mayor and Corporation of Manchester entertained at luncheon a company representative of the University, the professions, and industry, showed how rapidly the new consciousness of a municipal estate in the local University is growing.

"TABARI'S APOLOGY FOR ISLAM."

We have pleasure in announcing the publication of the original Arabic text of "Tabari's Apology for Islam," the English translation of which, by Dr. A. Mingana, was published last year, under the title: "The Book of Religion and Empire." The original text has been excellently printed in Cairo, and may be obtained from the regular agents of the Library, or from the Librarian, at the price of five shillings. Copies of the English edition also may still be obtained from the same sources, price half-a-guinea.

The work has been most enthusiastically welcomed by scholars in the East, as well as in the West. Dr. Mingana has received most gratifying congratulatory letters from Mecca, Fez, Jerusalem, Irak, Cairo, also from the veteran orientalist Professor Noldske, and from Professor Snouck Hurgronji, to mention only a few. All the correspondents are agreed that Dr. Mingana has rendered a great service to all students of Arabic, as well as to Islam, by his discovery, also by his work as editor and translator.

THE NEXT ISSUE.

Our next issue, which will appear in July, will contain amongst other contributions the following: "Under Hannibal's Shadow," by Professor Conway; "Moses and the Origin of the Religion of Israel," by Professor A. S. Peake; "The Authorship of the Second Epistle of St. Clement," by Dr. Rendel Harris; "Recent Discoveries in Greece," by Mrs. M. Herford Braunholtz; "Shakespeare's Fortunes in the Mind of Europe," by Professor C. H. Herford, a fifth article by Mr. H. C. Hoskier on "Recent Investigations in the Manuscripts of the Apocalypse," and a further instalment of Dr. Fawtier's "Hand-list of Charters in the John Rylands Library."

TATIAN: PERFECTION ACCORDING TO THE SAVIOUR.

EDITED BY RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., LITT.D., D.THEOL., ETC.,

CURATOR OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

CHAPTER I.

On an Old Syriac Treatise against Marcion.

IN the year 1836 there was published by the Armenian convent at St. Lazaro, near Venice, a work which professed to contain writings of St. Ephraim, the great Syrian father. There were four volumes of printed matter, in a language (Armenian) that almost no one among Western scholars of that day could read, so that it is not surprising if the books fell flat on the market. As far as we remember, one solitary voice (it was that of Prof. Lagarde) observed that there was, amongst the newly edited matter, a commentary upon a Gospel Harmony; yet even he did not follow up the clue; one would have thought that the suggestion of a fourth century commentary by the greatest of the Syrian doctors upon a Harmony of the Four Gospels would have made patristic students open their eyes wide with wonder and with expectation. Did the monks of St. Lazaro know what they were publishing? Did they suspect that under the ill-fitting disguise of an Armenian text and commentary there was masquerading the lost text of Tatian, the Gospel Harmonist *par excellence* of the second century? They were interested in their find, but apparently did not recall what the Syrian fathers could have told them, that Ephraim had commented on the *Diatessaron of Tatian*. So we may assume that it was Ephraim that first attracted them and not Tatian who is the real magnet. While the book was passing through the press a second copy of the same commentary, of the very same age, came to light, written by the hand of the Archbishop Nerses of Lampron, and it is natural to assume that the second

copy, in the handwriting of so famous an ecclesiastic, accentuated the scholarly interest provoked by the first. So the Mechitarist monks, through their greatest living scholar, John Baptist Aucher, prepared a translation of the Armenian text into Latin, a rough translation, by no means Ciceronian, but not on that account to be undervalued by scholars who want to find their way back from the Armenian texts to the underlying Syriac. This translation was made in 1841, five years after the appearance of the *editio princeps*: it was not published and might have remained on the shelves of the convent library in perpetuity if it had not drawn the attention of Dr. Georg Mösinger of Salzburg, who obtained the permission of the convent to publish it in 1876, under the title *Evangelii concordantis expositio*. Then the secret was out and, ever since then, scholars all over the world have been reconstructing the text of Tatian's *Harmony* and estimating its effect upon our New Testament criticism and Gospel origins. All of which is by this time ancient history, and the tale has been told over and over again. We had ourselves something to say on the subject in a little volume on the *Diatessaron of Tatian*, published as far back as 1890, which is long since out of print and out of date: but we are not proposing here and now to re-open the question; our interest lies in another direction; the second of the MSS. from which the Mechitarist fathers printed the commentary of Ephraim upon the Gospel contained more matter ascribed to the same Syrian father, and it is natural to enquire whether there may not be further interesting documents to be obtained from a mine which had already yielded up such rich treasure, and further evidence as to the employment of the Tatianic text by St. Ephraim. Prof. Burkitt alluded to the existence in the Armenian volume of another work ascribed to St. Ephraim under the title of *An Exposition of the Gospel*; it was a work written against Marcion and his teachers and followers; it was clearly a translation from the Syriac, but what was of more importance for Prof. Burkitt, who was engaged in rectifying erroneous views as to the New Testament text employed by Ephraim, it was a text that contained Diatessaron readings. So he remarked as follows in his work on *St. Ephraim's quotations from the Gospel*.[1]

"The verse (John xv. 1) is quoted again in a tract of St. Ephraim

[1] *Texts and Studies*, vii. 11, Cambridge, 1911.

extant only in Armenian (Ephr. Arm. ii. 292 (? ii. 288)). After quoting Matt. xxi. 33 he goes on: And again in another place He says, *I am the vineyard and ye are the vine.*"

We need not spend time in showing that this is undoubtedly the form in which Tatian read the opening verse of the fifteenth chapter of John; we are not, however, discussing Tatian and his New Testament text; we are only pointing out that Prof. Burkitt, with his accustomed keenness for Old Syriac readings, had seen the importance of the tract to which he refers: and when he came to edit the *Separated Gospels* (Evangelion da Mepharrashē) in 1904, he made further reference to the Syriac text involved in the new tract of Ephraim. He expressed himself as follows: "that the tract is a translation from the Syriac seems clear, and some of the quotations present a text such as would be used by a Syriac writer at the end of the fourth century. But the style is not very like St. Ephraim's, and the number of direct quotations from the Scriptures is far larger than we should expect to find in a genuine work of his."[1]

The next scholar to interest himself in the work in question was the late Prof. Preuschen, who published in his *Zeitschrift* in 1911 a translation of the printed Armenian text under the title *Eine altkirchliche antimarcionitische Schrift unter dem Namen Ephräms.*

Preuschen was especially interested in it as a work belonging to the *pro* and *con* of the great Marcionite controversy and he detected near the opening of the treatise an actual extract from what appeared to be a lost work of Marcion's entitled *Pro-evangelion*, which contained a statement as to the greatness and excellence of the Gospel, and the way in which it surpassed human thought, so that there was nothing else to be compared with it.

Apparently this is taken, not from a separate work, preliminary to the Gospel itself, but from the Preface to the Christian Reader, in Marcion's re-edited Gospel of Luke. This preface the writer of the supposed Ephraim tract makes an attack upon, which for unfairness might also be taken as a proof of Ephraimite authorship. He imagines from the title *Pro-Evangelium* that Marcion regards the Gospel as younger than himself, and when he read the Marcionite statement, that there is nought like the Gospel nor to be compared

[1] Burkitt: loc. cit., ii. 189.

with it, he undertook to refute the statement by proving from the parables of Jesus that there were things which were like the Gospel, and to which the Gospel might be compared, and that these things were in the Old Testament which Marcion had displaced, to wit, Wine, Clothes, Pearls, Treasures, etc., as well as in the New Testament which he had reconstructed.

Preuschen was quite clear that the Armenian text was derived by translation from the Syriac, and that it was Old Syriac, but he went one stage further back, and maintained that the Syriac itself was a rendering of a lost Greek original, portions of which he endeavoured to reconstruct. He thought, also, that the tract was composed in the last third of the second century, i.e. between A.D. 165 and A.D. 200. He did not, however, think that the author of the tract had employed the *Diatessaron*.

The next stage in the enquiry was occupied by a Roman Catholic scholar, who undertook to revise the whole of the translation, and to accompany the translation with a critical enquiry. Joseph Schäfers presented the first part of his work as a dissertation for the Doctor's degree at the University of Breslau in 1915 ; before he could complete his task he died at Mosul in Mesopotamia, of a disease which he had contracted, and the duty of seeing the sheets finally through the press devolved upon his friends. The title of the completed work is as follows :—

> *Eine altsyrische Antimarkionitische Erklärung von Parabeln des Herrn und zwei andere altsyrische Abhandlungen zu Texten des Evangeliums, etc.*
>
> Münster i. W. 1917.

The title shows the forward step which Schäfers had taken : there are, apparently, two fresh tracts added to the original anti-Marcionite writing, but they are not really fresh tracts. Schäfers detected in translating the work *de novo* that there was at two points a change in matter and in style. The theme altered and so did the literary artist. So he broke the tract into three where the seams appeared (for it was very loosely jointed together), and published the three parts as three separate tracts, which he marked with Roman numerals, i., ii. and iii., or A, B and C.

It will be seen at a glance that this is a challenge to a suspension of judgment, both as to the date, the authorship and the character of the

writings. The three parts need not be by one hand, nor of one age, nor occupied with the same theme. We must not confuse the tracts together when we say that the date is second century, nor when we say that we see traces of the use of the *Diatessaron*. Each of the subdivided portions will have to be considered on its own merits.

Our interest is with the second subdivision.

To this Schäfers gives the title :

On Perfect Discipleship
and
On Perfect Leadership,
expounded by the Sayings and Parables of Jesus.

He remarks that it is not a complete tract, but a fragment ; it is undoubtedly of Syriac origin, but it contains no trace of the Syriac Vulgate Version ; on the contrary it has evident relation, as to New Testament text, with the Old Syriac. Accordingly Schäfers puts the lower limit for the time of the composition near the time of the publication of the Syriac Vulgate, but cannot find any indication how much earlier it may be. He is also quite satisfied that the style is not that of Ephraim, nor can it be the work of the same writer who composed the tract against Marcion that precedes it. Is there any possibility of taking the enquiry further than Schäfers has done? Suppose we accept his general statement that the Armenian text is based upon the Syriac, and also allow that the New Testament text involved is what is called Old Syriac, that is, either the *Diatessaron*, or one of the primitive Syriac versions, can we say anything more as to date and authorship ?

If we look at the titles which Schäfers has assigned to his three subdivided tracts we shall, I think, agree that they are all too long. Take, for instance, the one quoted above for the second tract. That is clearly not an original heading, and it is very long-winded : the other two are better ; for example, we have

Tract i. The anti-Marcionite explanation of the Parables.

This is still too long : it should be more like this,

On the Parables : against Marcion.

For tract iii. we have

On the Second Coming of the Lord
and
On the End of the World.

That might pass muster.

But let us see what the actual heading is in the Venice MS. Here we find as follows :

i. Against Marcion, who says there is nothing like it (sc. the Gospel) ;
ii. Explanation of the Parables of the Evangelists ;
iii. On the End of the Second Coming of the Lord.

These are too brief, but the occurrence of a triple title certainly confirms Schäfers belief that we are dealing with three separate tracts. These titles, as we said, are too short. The first is so short as to be unintelligible : the second is abbreviated so as not to convey adequately the intention of the writer ; the third is also shortened unduly.

If we take Schäfers' definition for the second tract, it can easily be simplified : we can say

On Perfection
according to the Teaching of Jesus ;

but when we write that down, we have almost exactly the title of a lost work of Tatian, which was known as

On Perfection
according to the Saviour ;

the Greek title, as preserved by Clement of Alexandria being

περὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Σωτῆρα καταρτισμοῦ.

We shall, therefore, make the conjecture that we have recovered a part of the lost treatise of Tatian on the subject of Perfection.

If we turn to the passage in Clement of Alexandria to which we have just referred (it will be found in the third volume of the *Stromateis*, at p. 547) we shall find that Clement is disputing Tatian's views on married life, the argument being based upon the passage in 1 Cor. vii. 5, where the Apostle advises abstinence by consent (*ἐκ συμφώνου*), and then a subsequent return to normal conditions (*πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἦτε*).

Now Tatian's *Way of the Perfect Life*, as is well known, involved a strongly developed ascetic element ; there was the abstinence from flesh-meat and from wine, and there was a further sexual abstinence, perhaps equivalent to an actual celibacy. So when Tatian comes to the passage in Corinthians he says some strong things ; if they were meant for an actual commentary, they were not fair to the author. Consent, he says, in abstinence makes for a state of prayer :

participation, then, in an act that is corrupt breaks up the state of intercession. The permission that the Apostle gives is really meant to be a restraint. For if we allow the return to normal life because of Satan or his lacquey Incontinence, he has put us under two masters. Our consent (ἐκ συμφώνου) in abstinence makes us the servants of God : our reversal of consent puts us into bondage to Incontinence and the Devil."

It was not difficult for Clement to put that little matter straight. What is important for us is to notice that the long quotation which Clement makes from Tatian is in the Greek, so that the work on Perfection must have been bi-lingual, if it was also in Syriac as well, and not merely known to Syrian readers in a later translation. It is also clear that, although Tatian expressly bases his teaching on Christ's own, this does not prevent him from quoting and discussing the Apostle Paul. We shall see presently a similar feature in our Armenian tract. A similar reference to St. Paul by Tatian will be found a little lower down in Clement, evidently from the same source. Tatian had maintained that the 'Old Man' to whom we die was the Law, the 'New Man' with whom we live, is the Gospel. Clement agrees with him in part, but will not allow it to be inferred that the Law was the work of another god. In this he seems to charge Tatian with occupying a fundamentally Marcionite position. He is probably not quite fair to Tatian in his inference.

Now let us turn to our Armenian text and see if it corresponds to what we already know of Tatian's treatise.

Chapter II.

The Armenian Tract on Perfection.

We have, then, before us an early Christian tract on the Perfection of Discipleship, and we want to know if it can fairly be identified with a similarly entitled tract by Tatian, which we find registered among the lost and missing volumes of the primitive Christian library. When we examine our Armenian text more closely we see, as Schäfers points out, that amongst the changes in style as we pass from the first tract to the second, we have to notice a change in the descriptive title given to Jesus. In the first tract he is, without exception,

spoken of as 'our Lord'; in the second tract we have repeatedly 'the Saviour.' This second and alternative title agrees very well with the name given by Tatian to his book, *Perfection, according to the Saviour*. In one case the title is longer: the Lord is called (p. 318) 'our life-giving Saviour' ('unser lebendigmachender Erlöser'); the term 'life-giver' answers to the Syriac *meḥayana*, and is a regular equivalent for 'Saviour' (σωτήρ). We suspect, then, that we have here a double translation, and that the original was simply *meḥayana*. We notice also that the original must have been Syriac, for the writer plays on the underlying meaning of 'life,' and says that 'Our life-giving Saviour says, He that is near me is near the fire, and he that is far from me is far *from the life*.'

This is a very interesting passage: it contains a quotation from the lost *Sayings of Jesus*, only known to us hitherto by its occurrence in two passages. One of them is Origen's Commentary on Jeremiah xx. 3, in the form:

'The Saviour Himself says, He that is near me is near the fire; he that is far from me is far *from the Kingdom*.' The other is in Didymus of Alexandria on Psalm lxxxviii. 8 where the Greek of the passage is found corresponding to the Latin of Origen (Ruffinus).[1] Our Armenian text betrays a knowledge of this form also, for it continues thus:

> And we too, we who long after the heavenly gates *of the Kingdom*, and to be enrolled in the *lists of Life*.

So we can add this new attestation of the Sayings to our collection. The only other parallel to it is Ignatius' 'Near the sword, near God.'

We have shown, then, that the Armenian tract commonly gives our Lord the title of 'Our Saviour.'

The next point that we notice is that the treatise is definitely occupied with the subject of Perfection as its theme and keynote.

After quoting the passage in Heb. iv. 12f. ('The Word of God is quick and powerful,' etc.) the writer remarks that this form of discipleship which our Lord spoke of, was spoken in *reference to Perfection*; for he that will be *perfect* must be like that. He then goes on to other passages in the Epistles where the distinction between the 'babes' and the 'perfect' is made in terms of their diet; St. Paul

[1] See Mai., *Bibl. Nov.*, vii. 2, 267.

feeds his young believers at Corinth with milk, but wishes them to go on to 'solid food,' and according to the Epistle to the Hebrews, 'solid food is for the *perfect*.' We are to be made *perfect* and *solidified*. The perfection of age is the *perfect* and solid nutrition.

When the writer comes to the search for the costly pearl, he tells us that this parable of the merchant which our Lord spoke, he spoke with reference to a *perfect discipleship:* and the same description is given to the quest for the hidden treasure. We are on the pathway of Perfection. There can be no doubt, then, that our tract in its theme coincides with the lost treatise of Tatian, and may possibly be a fragment of the same.

The question may be asked whether the perfection involved is Encratite perfection. Tatian himself is among the heretics on the ground of his Encratism, being condemned as a Vegetarian, and Teetotaller and Celibate, or quasi-Celibate, and for making his peculiar views into matters of discipline, for the perfect at least. But do we see any signs of this reaction of the inward life upon the outward in the Armenian tract? The answer is in the affirmative.

Our tract opens with the evangelical doctrine that the one who would be Christ's disciple must abandon all else and follow him and accept his conditions of life, which, as the writer says, were the same as those of the ancient prophets, and the first apostles. They were separated from the world by their primitive way of life, and by *their eating and drinking*. We also who follow the Lord and the first disciples must separate from the world by our sobriety and our wisdom and our way of dwelling in the world, and by our *eating and drinking*. Three times he repeats the allusion. The abstinence involved is, then, a cardinal doctrine of the writer. It is difficult to see how one could be separate from the world in the matter of food and drink, unless it is either in quantity or quality. Evidently the last is what is intended. Either distinction could be described as Abstinence, but Encratism, more properly so called, means the refraining from the use of flesh and wine (to say nothing of the sexual problem). The writer of our tract, then, was, we suspect, an Encratite.[1]

[1] Mr. Conybeare doubts this: he says, 'I cannot discern the true Encratite touch. It preaches incidentally the sparing use of this world's goods, of food and drink, but not repudiation of marriage.' But we shall see presently that the Christian athlete abandons house and home: '*sparing use* of food and drink' seems not quite adequate as an explanation of text.

Putting these various points together, that the writer was a Syrian and an Encratite, and that he wrote on the subject of Perfection as taught by our Lord, we can hardly fail to identify him with Tatian himself.

The identification which we have made raises at once an interesting question in textual criticism. If we are right that this is Tatian's tract, written by him in Syriac in the first instance, and as an Encratite in the latter part of his life, what Syriac text did he employ when quoting the Gospels? Was it his own Harmony? or were there other Syriac Gospels available from which he could quote? If there were such and he quoted them, then the Harmony was made out of those previously existing Syriac Gospels, and not directly from Greek or Latin. It will be seen that these are points of real importance; in the criticism of the New Testament text it has not yet been finally settled whether the Harmony came first in Syriac or the separate Gospels. We may draw attention to what certainly has all the appearance of a loan from the Harmony.

Our tract opens in the following abrupt manner:

> And this which our Lord says: Who will be my disciple; so if he does not separate himself from all his possessions, he cannot be my disciple.

Now this is Luke xiv. 33, but with a difference:

> So then every one of you who does not renounce all his own possessions cannot be my disciple;

or, resolving the Semitism,

> So then none of you, etc., can be my disciple.

To this the tract has prefixed the words, 'Who will be my disciple,' and a reference to the Arabic Tatian shows the fifteenth chapter ending as follows:

> So (let) every one of you (think, *who will be my disciple;* for) if he does not renounce all his possessions, he cannot be my disciple.

We have bracketed the expansions made by Tatian, in order to clear up the apparently inconsequent Greek (οὕτως οὖν πᾶς ἐξ ὑμῶν). And it is this expanded text of Tatian, that is being quoted in our tract (unless it should be held that the expansion had already been made in a previous Syriac version of Luke). We incline to the belief that it is really Tatian.

Here is a confirmation. In the Dutch Harmony from Liège, which is a translation of a lost Latin *Diatessaron* in the earliest form that can be traced, we have (p. 85) the passage from Luke, in the form—

> Wie so nin vertyt alles des dat hi heft
> die en mach mijn yongre nit syn;

and then after an interjected gloss, the words, which appear to belong to the original text,

> Dits te verstane van volmakden yongershap;

i.e. this is to be understood of *perfect discipleship*.

Here we have again the expression which our Armenian tract uses in the explanation of the parable of the Pearl and of the Treasure. We infer that it was in the Syriac, and as the writer of the tract is using the *Diatessaron* we suggest that the expression comes from the mind of Tatian, as an interpreter of the text. The supposition agrees with what we stated above. Tatian had some explanatory glosses of his own in the *Diatessaron*. The reference to 'Perfect Discipleship' is one of them. The significance of the repeated reference in our tract to that 'Perfect Discipleship' must be remarked: much of the argument of the tract is an expansion of the theme. We suggest that the theme and the expansion are both Tatianic.

The very title of Tatian's work on Perfection (*περὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Σωτῆρα καταρτισμόν*) shows that it is based on Luke vi. 40 (*κατηρτισμένος δὲ πᾶς ἔσται ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος*).[1]

But here is an example that looks in another direction: our author begins a sentence as follows:

> And this which again our Lord said, Strive *thou* to enter through the narrow gate. And this is just what we see, that the gate of the Kingdom is so.

Here, as Schäfers points out, we have a change from the *ἀγωνίζεσθε* of Luke xiii. 24 to *ἀγωνίζου*. It is not an accidental change; it corresponds to a personal enquiry of a single individual; 'And *some one said* to him, Lord, are the saved few?' The only authority for

[1] Curiously, Luke vi. 40 is not in the Liège Harmony, though it is found in the two closely related harmonies edited by Bergsma.

the reading *ἀγωνίζου* appears to be in the Cureton and the Lewis Syriac. If that could be maintained it would be an argument for believing that Tatian was dependent upon an old Syriac rendering. (Or is it Tatian's own reading upon which the old Syriac texts are dependent?) Nor are there wanting other traces of the dependence of our author upon non-Tatianic Syriac readings: for example, in the parable of the goodly pearl, our author says that it was 'a *good and costly* pearl,' and this double rendering is found both in the Cureton and in the Lewis Syriac of Matt. xiii. 46 and apparently nowhere else. The definition of Perfection as being *κατὰ τὸν Σωτῆρα* can be illustrated in either of two ways; to wit, a following of the example of the Saviour, or an obedience to his teaching. In our tract, both are stressed. For example, in the opening sentences, the perfect disciple follows the practice of the old prophets, but these are regarded as exemplars and anticipators of our Saviour, so that imitation of them becomes at once '*Imitatio Christi*.' The writer explains that there must be, also, an imitation of the first disciples. In that case we are 'imitators of our Teacher and our Comrades, his first Disciples.' The writer goes on to say that we are 'to resemble our Teacher, and the Prophets and Apostles upon whom we are builded.'

When he comes to the parables of our Lord, in which the doctrine of perfection is said to be latent, it is the words of the Saviour that are expounded, and the worth of the Saviour that is estimated. He is Himself the Pearl, the Hidden Treasure. We find, not it, but Him. Every aspect of the writer's doctrine is *κατὰ τὸν Σωτῆρα*: every experience is *ὡς ὁ Διδάσκαλος*.

But here again the Liège Harmony, which is our best evidence for a Latin Tatian, comes to our aid. It tells us that 'the kingdom of heaven is like the merchantman, who seeks to buy *good* pearls, and when he has found one *good* pearl, he goes and sells all that he has, and buys the *precious* pearl.' The 'good and precious pearl' can be inferred from the text, and with some degree of certainty, we may take it back to Tatian. Was it also in the Diatessaron? If not, then Tatian is here quoting the Old-Syriac.

For further discussion on these points, the reader may refer to Preuschen and Schäfers.

Chapter III.

The Text of the Tract on Perfection.

. . . And this that our Lord says: Who will be my disciple. So if he does not separate himself from all his possessions, he cannot be my disciple. But this also he taught out of the earlier prophets, that they might become their disciples. And they had learnt their mode of life, and their sweet reasonableness, and their thought of poverty and of solitude, which were their instructions in that religion of theirs. They had declared to them as it were a counsel the exemplar of our Saviour, and then He came Himself and perfected their counsels and exemplars, which were really on His account. And so to their hearers their words were established and a seal was set on them, which words were (really) on His account. And so also our Saviour Himself taught; not out of His own mind, but in correspondence with the will of His Father did He teach, even as He says: 'Not that the Son speaks out of His own will, but what He sees and hears of His Father, that He speaks.' Wherefore let no one suppose that our Lord said anything from Himself. So the similitudes and thoughts relating to Himself, and the figures and the forms of His works, which each of the prophets set in action, were all in regard to Himself; He came Himself, fulfilled them, and sealed them to their hearers.

Now should we be in dread of His strong and stern Father, as also the Scripture says, 'It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the Living God' (Heb. x. 31). For He personally does, through His Son, whatsoever He will. Wherefore, even as our Saviour Himself and the Prophets and His Apostles separated themselves from this present world through their piety and their sobriety and their spiritual mode of life and their dwelling and their eating and drinking and their glorious words, so also should we be imitators of our Teacher and of our Comrades, his first disciples. For we ourselves will part from this present world, by our piety and our sobriety, and our habitation of the world, and by our eating and drinking and our spiritual course of life; nor should ye mingle with the affairs and the discourse of this world. For if we by our mode of life and our dwelling and our eating and our drinking and our words are not separate and disjoined from the men who are here, our Lord might just as well have come to the winds and the stones and discoursed to them His noble commands from

His Father, and He should not have been sent to us in person. Or shall we suppose that, when His Father in his good pleasure sets up His dread and powerful Judgement Seat of Glory, he will judge the winds and the stones, and not sit in judgement upon us personally?

We will accordingly proceed to do whatsoever the Saviour hath bidden us, according to the will of His Father. For God is a Consuming Fire, as saith also the Scripture. But if one approaches (to take on him) the name of discipleship unworthily, he might well cast his eye on Gehazi, the disciple of Elisha, for he approached in name but never really fulfilled it. For he surrendered the heavenly possessions, and lusted after earthly possessions: so he was rejected and clad in leprosy. Or again, he might cast an eye on Judas, who was one of the twelve Apostles of our Saviour; for he, too, lusted after the things of this world, and he was rejected, and his name erased from the tale of life.

We, then, will have dread of the present world and its goods, lest we also be rejected, and fall from the stage on which we stand, as they also were rejected. For envy and avarice and all the passions of this world are opposed to discipleship and resist it. And in sooth they have overset the wise and the strong giants, and he drives many out of the Kingdom in that day. For those 'passions' are the armour of Satan, wherewith he wars against us; wherefore our Lord despoiled him and took away his armour and gave it us, saying withal to us, 'If any man will serve Me, let him follow Me.' Wherefore we follow Him and become imitators of His manner of life, and draw it on to us like a coat of mail; for our Saviour knows the art of Satan's hypocrisy, how he disorders and confuses men who have become believers; for some he utterly deceives with bait of goods and gear and many other things, to destroy them withal; and whiles he sees one that has put on his coat of mail, and he fights against him and the sense of the Scripture, that he may wreck his vow, and undo him, and whiles he shoves him out of the lists of the teaching. Wherefore our Lord had pity on us, when He said that we should observe His Commandments, and that then the grace of His compassion should reach us, to set us free from the Evil One. For by the observation of His Commandments we shall be set free from Satan, who fights against us in varied forms: and tenderly doth the Holy Spirit care for us as He did for the Prophets.

Now let us resemble our Teacher and the Prophets and Apostles upon whom we are builded, those who have put on the armour of their Lord and have overcome Satan. For as the blessed Paul says, 'I want you, brethren, to be imitators of me,' that is according to his saying 'I have not coveted gold or silver nor delicate apparel, but I loved to work with my own hands, and to eat and to give also to them that are weak and needy'; so he too showed us the path of life that we ought to walk in. And like the Apostles again, who deposited in the midst whatever was their special possession and there was no one among them that was poor, for all were equal through their living and their loving. But if we do not hear Paul and do not obey our Saviour, we cannot be imitators of Prophets and Apostles. Let us no longer tread under foot the words of the Holy Scripture through our weakness. For the words of God are, 'Yea is yea and nay is nay'; as Paul also said, 'Alive is the Word of God and sharper than any two-edged sword, to cut, to pierce through, even to the division of souls and bodies, of joints and thighs, and is judge of the thoughts and intents of the hearts, neither is there any creature that is hidden before Him, but everything is open before Him, for we shall stand naked, every one of us, in His presence, to render Him our account.'

This form of discipleship of which our Lord spake, he spake it of perfection; for he that will be perfect shall be like that.

And then, as St. Paul says: 'As babes in Christ I gave you milk to drink, and I gave you not strong meat, for ye are yet carnal. Ye could not receive it, as long as ye are carnal.' And again he says: 'Strong meat is for the perfect, those whose taste is practised, to distinguish good and evil.' And truly it is just as he says: 'As babes in Christ I gave you milk to drink,' for as the child first sucks milk, and nourished thereby becomes little by little capable of nutrition through savoury food, and begins to distinguish good and bad, sweet and bitter, and then goes forward to eat a meal of bread and other kickshaws like a man, and forgets its childhood and its meal of milk, sucked in babyhood, on account of its growing strength and on account of its meats, because it has become perfect in the measure of the nature which God has set sure for him; so we learn the earlier writing (sc. the Old Testament), as a sort of milk, and we are brought up thereon, and then gradually our faith and the service of our Lord

become strong in us, and then we begin to understand, to distinguish the good from the bad and the sweet from the bitter. And as our faith in its energy becomes strong in us, thereon our mind, with our captive will, urges us on towards the Perfecting of the Truth of the Gospel; yea, that is itself the strong meat, as also the Apostle says, 'Strong meat is for the Perfect.' Wherefore it was Truth that that Apostle said, 'As babes in Christ I gave you milk to drink.' For first we did drink like milk the instruction of the teaching: and when we became perfect and strong in it, then, led onward, we approach to the prescriptions of the Gospel; and this is the Perfection of Age, a Perfect and Strong Meat.

And again as to the saying of our Lord: 'Strive to enter by the narrow door.' And this is precisely what we see, that the door of the Kingdom is so. He who longingly desires to be enlisted and to register himself in the muster roll of warriors here in the world, keeps this point before his mind, that he must go forth from home and relationship, to remove into other neighbourhoods and to throw himself into the strife of deadly battle. Like the warrior he must first learn to clean and to polish his armour, and he learns military matters while he is by himself, before the time of the struggle arrives. But when that time comes he throws himself into the company of warlike enthusiastic men; and nought else beholds he but the glitter of weapons and the flashing of the sword, and the on-rush of the horsemen, and the twang of the bow; there nought else does he hear, but only the clang of the stricken lyre, and the blare of the trumpets, the urgency of the flutes, the whirr of the sword, and the onward call of the bugles. And there is one that shrinks from blood, and another when he hears the sound of fearsome cries, becomes weak, exhausted, and limp from his own terror, and here another who is heartened and prevails, and through him his comrades, his war-mates, are heartened also, and many another lifts his eyes to see the sword before him and the sword behind him, and within himself he says, If I go slack and weak in this battle, the sword in front will kill me, and if I turn my back my own friends will smite my flank; so let me manly die; and he uplifts his eyes to Heaven, and he cries to God in prayer, and throws himself manfully into the strife. Verily this is what our life-giving Saviour has said: 'He who is near me is near the fire; and he who is far from me is far from the life.' And so we too that have a lust for the

heavenly gates of the Kingdom, and to be inscribed in the enrolments of life with the Warriors, the Prophets, the Apostles, we must learn in advance the military matters, the rules and laws of our Lord, and daily drill ourselves in them, and purify ourselves like a clean armour, and be made firm in our heart, and then we put those rules on like a fine armour, and so we become mighty to stand against the war's battle when we have thus put it on.

But if we do not wear this armour, when war comes, or persecution, or any other form of hostility arises against us (for the struggle in our war is for every day, and the armour of the Faith is what we possess), and if Satan approaches any of us to make war upon him, many a one becomes apostate through fear, and lacks the armour of the Faith ; but another hears the sound of the trumpet that stimulates him, and he is encouraged and strengthened to take stand against 'the enemy' ; and many lie asleep and do not watch ; and here is one that is in covenant[1] with God, but does not stand firm, for he regards the erroneous teachers, mere nonentities, as though they were servants of God. And all these have been written down in the muster-roll of the warriors for the Gospel call, but they have been conquered by Satan. Just as the Apostle said, 'our warfare is not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and against the ruler of the world of this darkness under the heaven, and with the spirits of error.' And just as a warrior, on military service, longs to pass from his insignificance to the greatness of renown, through his battlings and the toils of his heroic deeds, and his eager mind, and to stand in his ready service before the king, and from him to receive great presents and fame and honour and worth, and goes up, now promoted, to his own rank and stands forthwith in the royal court, and lives splendidly and joyously in a noble house, so also we have been called in insignificance and we attain to glory through the conflict of our strivings, and the war of our heroisms, and through our obedience, and we come to stand before the Heavenly King, and to receive from Him great presents, renown and honour and glory, and being raised in rank we are promoted in grade to the Prophets and Apostles, and we become great and exalted and stand before the Heavenly King, and we live in delight in the House Beautiful with the Celestials.

[1] One of the *Bnai Qyama*, or Sons of the Covenant.

And this again which our Lord has said: 'The Kingdom of Heaven is like a merchantman, seeking costly pearls: and he found one costly and precious pearl, went, sold all his possessions and bought it at a price.' This again He has spoken with regard to the Perfect Discipleship; for He is Himself the pearl and we are the merchants who have found Him. And just as a costly pearl maketh the heart gay, and bears aloft the mind and soul and spirit of him who possesses it, and makes him fair and beauteous, and he is uplift in his mind, so is it with ourselves. When we gain the pearl of our Lord, that is, His Commandments, gay and glad is our Soul and Spirit and our Heart is delighted within us, and fair we are and beauteous we become in ourselves through the pearl that is within us. And just as a costly and precious pearl is not left carelessly, and laid casually in the treasury of the Kingdom, but is packed away and stamped with many seals, and for greater protection laid in a special case, so also is our pearl, wrapped and stamped and sealed with many seals, and is laid away in our hearts in ward with great care; and there it lies under watch and ward in Hearts and Souls and Spirits as the religion of our Lord.

And again, that which our Lord has said, that 'The Kingdom of Heaven is like a man, who has found a treasure in a field. For joy he went and sold all that He had, and bought it'; this too has he said again in regard to Perfect Discipleship: for He is Himself the Treasure which His Father has appointed for us. But just as a treasure, if we find such, was not first buried in that very hour when 'we' found it, but has already been long stored away, and he who found it found it as God willed; on that account the treasure is our Saviour, and not as somewhat recent have we found Him, as the Marcionites say, but His father had long since stored Him away and laid Him by but did not reveal Him to that generation, that turned their eyes to Him and expected Him, but revealed Him to us in this present age of ours. On that account He is compared with a treasure and a pearl, and we with His finders according to the will of our Creator.

And just as in the case of a treasure it is found not to consist of a single costly and beautiful piece, but many jewels and valuables are found therein, so that, if one should discover it, the finder is amazed in mind, and full of uneasiness hastens, and mingles anxiety and fear

with his heart's joy, and with fixed eye gazing this way and that way, and then raises his eyes to Heaven, and small need has he of food and drink, for the care and toil and the very sleeplessness of joy, because he has found something greater than himself; so also has our Saviour, who revealed to us His Father, opened to us the gladsome treasure of His mouth, and it was not a single prize, nor a single jewel that escaped, but many prizes and many treasures. And if we sit down and ponder the glories and treasures of His Father, our heart is wonderstruck, beside itself in glad amaze, while anxiety and fear are mingled therewith for the prize that we have found; and with toil and sleepless care we are day and night concerned with our treasure, and we feel neither hunger nor thirst and our eyes are evermore raised to Heaven.

And this again which our Lord has said: 'If any one of you is invited to a wedding or banquet, do not go and sit down in the foremost place: perchance there may come and enter one of the invited guests, a more honourable man than thyself, and he who has bidden you both may come and say, "Get up, make room for this man," and thou must betake thyself with shame to a lower place: but when they invite you, go and sit you down in a lower place: and then He who invited you will say, "Friend, move up and sit there," and there will be honour to thee from all that sit at the table. For everyone that exalts himself will be abased, and he that humbleth himself will be exalted.' And he said this word because He observed that they sought out the first places. And this word is exactly fulfilled in respect of the Church. For our Lord is the Lord of the guests, and we are the invited, invited to the banquet, and the same is so fulfilled.

But just as a man when he invites his guests, first invites them by word, and thereupon they come and reach the banquet, so also has our Saviour done, he has first invited us by the word and thereon we come to the banquet.

And our Lord observed and saw that at the banquet they sought the first place: this is fulfilled among ourselves; for we busy ourselves to-day to be chief guide; but we do not busy ourselves to do the works that are worthy of presidency. And they are to-day despised in our eyes, who humble themselves on earth: as our Lord has said, 'He that exalteth himself will be abased, and he that will

humble himself will be exalted.' Verily, therefore, they recline themselves in the first place, for that they have humbled themselves, and have observed the precepts of their Lord!

Those whom our Lord observed and saw, that they intruded and sought the first places at the banquet are (symbolically) those who busy themselves to push themselves to the front, to stand at the head of the community. And they chose this for their own person's sake, and in no respect were their thoughts in righteousness; their choice was their own persons. But this is the Divine Selection, when thou shalt observe and preoccupy thyself over His commandments and thy works shall shine among men, not as if thou wouldst have any man know of the 'good' works that thou doest, but God only: as if thy works do not allow thee to be hidden, as the good works of our Saviour did not allow him to be hidden, and similarly the Prophets and the Apostles. The Presidency, then, belongs to those whose works, before they could reach the first rank, shone amongst men, and God was glorified in them.

If such an one becomes Head and Leader through his capacity and his good works, so that he wakes up many, and many men are healed through him, so that they return to God and live · then the Leader stands 'rightly' at the head of the people. And such an one is like to a physician; for the physician heals wounds through his medicine, and the other heals through a medicine, to wit, the word of the Living God, the broken in heart and the oppressed in soul.

And like as a physician who sees the wound, and knows by his lore what is the necessary medicine therefor, so also a wise physician of the Church knows from the Holy Scriptures, if he sees that the heart of anyone is broken and his spirit oppressed, what is the necessary medicine for him, to heal him, through comfort, of the pains of his soul. Like Moses, who became the leader, and with uprightness did lead, and became shepherd and well did pasture, and became physician, and with wholesomeness did heal the people of Jacob: such a Leader is proper to the office of leadership.

. . . . . .

Chapter IV.

Some Concluding Reflections.

We must now review briefly the foregoing enquiry into the possible or probable recovery of a portion of a lost Christian work of the first age, and we may conveniently do this under three heads, the Document, the Theme and the Author.

With regard to the Document, we followed Schäfers in dissecting it out from a supposed Ephraim tract, on the ground of internal chasms and discontinuity: but it is necessary to go slowly at this point. Suppose, for example, that the chasms were due to the selections of a transcriber, who did not wish to copy the whole of a document; we should, then, be obliged to turn from the external evidence of the chasms, and examine the internal continuity and harmony of the writings themselves. Thus, if Schäfers divides his whole text into three parts, say A B C, we ought to be able to detect not only the gulf between A and B, but also the inner variation of style between them; and so for B and C. And it is the more necessary to do this, because if we put A and C side by side, there is something to be said for a belief in a common authorship.

For example, in section A (p. 309) we have an illustration taken from the case of a woman and her mirror. We are told that when such a woman wants to assure herself of her good looks, she does not consult her gossips on the point, but she takes her mirror and looks therein, and she knows that if she is pleased with the prospect her bridegroom will also be pleased with it. If, however, she finds a spot or wrinkle or any impurity, she smooths the wrinkle and rubs off the impurity. The explanation is that the Holy Writ is such a mirror to us when we take it in hand; it contains the saving instructions of our Lord. The more we look into the mirror the more we know how to make ourselves lovely and loveable by the removal of spot and wrinkle. The reader of this passage will be at once reminded of the beautiful thirteenth *Ode of Solomon*, which tells us that the Lord is our mirror, and that we are to wipe the dirt from off our face, as well as of the passage in 2 Cor. iii. 18, where the believer beholds in a mirror the

Divine Glory, a passage to which actual reference is made by our author.[1]

The main point to notice in a very vivid parable is that the looking-glass is no longer the Lord but the Lord's teaching. Now let us turn to tract C of Schäfers (p. 338) and we find again that we are to *take up the mirror of the Scripture* and see ourselves therein, and remove thereby any impurity that may be detected.

The natural suggestion is that the two passages in A and C respectively are by the same hand. Returning to the first passage quoted we see that the author continues parabolizing with regard to the beautiful Bride and her Bridegroom, and tells us of their final union and his joy over her, and then, says he, *she becomes the lady over all his possessions and the participant in all his honour.*

Now turn to the second passage, and observe how the author is working out the same thought ; he tells of the Bride's expectancy and of her longing for the daybreak in which she will see her Lord ; and then he observes that she becomes *the lady of all her husband's treasures, great and small.*

These coincidences show that A and C come from the same hand. If this conclusion cannot be avoided, then in view of the fact that A and C are just as discontinuous as A and B, we must keep before our minds the possibility that the three sub-divisions, though evidently from separate works, may after all be due to a single author. For why should the transcriber leave the author A, copy a short tract of B, and then come back to A again ? The dissection which Schäfers pointed out may be the anatomy of a single person. And certainly all the three divisions of the book have a common Syriac origin, are earlier than Ephraim, and show dependence either upon Tatian's *Diatessaron*, or upon the separate Old Syriac Gospels.

We turn next to the style and theme of the second of our sub-divisions to which we have ventured to attach the name of Tatian. Everyone will recognize that there is an originality and a force about the writer, which point him out as different from the conventional writers and commentators of the Church. For instance, both in A and in B, he is the earliest commentator upon the parables of our Lord, and one of the freshest. Or take his picture of the Happy

[1] We may also compare Eph. v. 27 for the 'spots and wrinkles.'

Warrior preparing himself for battle, by careful training and warlike zeal. The passage might almost be thought rhetorical,[1] if it were not that the writer is so much in earnest. There is almost a summary of it in a famous passage of Macarius the Great (Hom. xviii. 11).[1] 'Sometimes, like a champion clad in royal armour, these also, fortifying themselves with the armour of the Spirit, go forth against their invisible enemies, and tread them under their feet.' There is the Happy Warrior again: Is it possible that Macarius stands in succession with the writer of our fragment? for he also is one of the writers on the subject of Perfection. It has only recently come out that, instead of being a pillar of the orthodox Church, he belonged to the sect (if sect it really was) of the Messalians, or Prayermen, who were widespread in Eastern lands, and probably a survival of an early Christian movement.[2]

Here is an instance of the parallelism to which we refer, and perhaps of more than parallelism. Our author, when he tells of the joy that the happy finder has over his treasure, tells us that his joy is mixed with anxiety and fear; but does not specify the exact ground of the terror.

If we turn to Macarius, twenty-seventh Homily, we shall find him discussing the difference between the Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament and the Saints under the New; the former did not know the Passion of the Lord, nor that there was a baptism with the Holy Spirit and Fire: the latter are enriched with the reception of the Paraclete, but they hold their wealth with fear and trembling. For, '*just as one who possesses treasures, or who travels to places that are robber-ridden, joys indeed over the wealth that he possesses, but is under fear lest the brigands rifle him*,' etc.

Here we have an explanation of the Anxious Fear of the Happy Finder. He is afraid of the brigands, to wit, his spiritual enemies.

So there may be something more than concurrence in the teaching

[1] Mr. Conybeare thinks it is altogether rhetorical; he says 'the *purpureus pannus* about military service is an absolute *locus communis* in such literature. . . . It is a bit of Salvation Army rhetoric': but *vide infra*.

[2] Two curious errors are current with regard to Macarius: one that of my friend, Dr. Whitley, who, in Hastings' *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics* states that the Messalians hail from Marseilles (Massilia): the other that of the theologians who are proposing to decanonize Macarius, and who do not know that they may burn their fingers in taking off the halo of a saint.

of our author and Macarius. They may be in the Apostolic succession of the seekers after Perfection; for we must not forget that Christianity may be defined as Penitence that is heading towards Perfection, Penitence in the sense of the nearness of the Kingdom, Perfection because the Lord has said, 'Ye shall be perfect, because I am perfect,' and the disciple must aspire to be as his Lord. This is what our author is trying to say, Perfect discipleship as indicated in the teaching of Jesus.[1]

So much for the theme; and this brings us back again to the question of the author. Was he really Tatian or perhaps some other Encratite, or some early ascetic or monk, who has bid the world farewell in an external similitude, and carried it with him into his retreat. He would have to be a very early monk; but it is not to be denied that Encratism itself is a kind of Monachism, an attempt to take Christ literally and spiritually at once; but it will not easily be maintained that the tract which we have been discussing came out of a monk's cell. But let us imagine whether it perhaps may be the work of some other Encratite of renown, who had a style of his own in which to describe an experience of his own. Might it, for example, be Cassian who is sometimes compared with Tatian by the Church writers and their transcribers? Our chief authority for Cassian is Clement of Alexandria, who almost always, quoting Cassian, says that Tatian has the same opinion. So he was Encratite, and if we may believe the tradition of Clement, he was a second-century writer, who had for his themes, *Self-control* (or *Continence*) and *Self-mutilation*. Of these the first is the general definition of holiness (*Enkráteia*); the second is a special definition, with reference to our Lord's most difficult teaching with regard to sexual abstinence. Cassian, then, might very well have been a teacher of the kind whom we have unearthed in Armenian. His name appears to have been Julius Cassianus, and he is said by Clement to quote from the Gospel according to the

[1] The great religious revivals all head this way: take for an example the first hymn in the first Methodist Hymn Book:

'This is the triumph of the Just
Who e'er on Thee their spirits stay
Shall find the God in whom they trust;
Perfection is their shining way.'

Egyptians: to judge by his name he is not an Oriental, and by his gospel, he is not a Mesopotamian.

It is, therefore, lawful to doubt whether he had anything to do with Syria, or with the Syriac Gospels, or with the Harmony of Tatian. So we fall back upon his contemporary (almost his double), for whom we have the evidence in Syria and in Syriac, and we suggest that the fragment before us is from the pen of Tatian the Assyrian. We may add to the argument the letters Q.E.D. provided the capital letters are not offensively large in their dimension, and are followed in smaller type by Q.E.R.E.

It may, perhaps, be asked whether it is likely that Tatian, in quoting from the Scriptures of the New Testament, should have used his own recently made and lately harmonized Gospel. Would it not be more natural to assume that the use of the *Diatessaron*, if proved, implies that it had become an Authorized Version, and does not such an Authorized Version, even in the East, acquire its credentials by the lapse of time?

Certainly there can be no doubt that the Syrian Churches read their Gospel through the medium of Tatian: we do not yet know for certain whether they read anything else in the first period of their ecclesiastical existence; so that, as far as Syrian Churches go, there is a presumption in favour of Tatianic quotations at a very early date; and if we concede this for the Churches we can hardly refuse to allow it for their own great and unapproachable Reviser of the New Testament.

I admit that there is a further difficulty in regard to Tatian's *Tract on Perfection*, that we do not know certainly whether it was first written in Greek or in Syriac, and this might seem to some to disable the use of that very Syriac book, the *Diatessaron*. But this is only the same difficulty over again, to wit, the limitation of our knowledge. We do not yet know whether the *Diatessaron* was ever published in Greek. The uncertainty that we find ourselves facing is in the nature of the case: it is the reaction from our ignorance; but it does not require us to assume that Tatian could not quote his own work (on which he must have spent such multitudinous care) in one language or in another. We may, however, suggest that it is probable that the *Tract on Perfection*, with its highly evolved Encratism, belongs to the later stages of the writer's life.

But, it may be said, Tatian was a heretic, and in the tract before us he speaks of the Christian Church as if he belonged to it; for instance, he deplores the lust of power in would-be leaders of the Church, and advises us that the Perfection of Jesus not only requires us to be free from the love of money, but also from the greed of place. Could a heretic talk that way? Is it not the mark of a true heretic that he is a disappointed person, who has aimed at episcopal honours and found himself thwarted? Are not the early lists of heretics charged and surcharged with such vaulting ambitions that have met their first doom even in this life? If Epiphanius says he was a heretic, could Tatian have been a saint? No doubt it is easy to ask such questions. They arise out of the projections of the later judgments of the Church upon the canvas of its earlier history. We have really no warrant for supposing that in the sub-Apostolic age the decisions of later Church councils were anticipated. Whether Tatian wrote our tract or not, we have no reason for assuming that Encratism was always and from the beginning outside the territorial limits of salvability. It would be more correct to say that Tatian was, in the latter part of his life, the head of the Eastern Church in Syria and its chief Doctor. There is no need to make a heretic of him before the time. If he was one, let the tares grow with the wheat till the fourth century! Then let the Catholic Church disown his person and the monks carry on his teaching.[1]

It will have been noticed that our author is definitely not in agreement with the views of Marcion.[2] He is careful to explain that, if Jesus is a recently acquired treasure, He is not one that was recently buried. There the Marcionites are at sea in their opinions about the Son of the Stranger who abruptly descended into a Galilean Synagogue in the days of Tiberius Cæsar. Clement of Alexandria, however, in a passage which we quoted above, certainly from the treatise on Per-

[1] Mr. Conybeare observes that 'Tatian and his sect, if he can be said ot have formed one (and Duchesne remarks that Encratism never was a sect, but a spirit diffused through all Christian circles), talked much of Perfection but not more than scores of the Fathers.'

[2] Mr. Conybeare suggests that anti-Marcionism, and not Encratite Perfection is the real meaning of the tract: 'the figures and forms (τύποι) which each of the prophets set in action were all in regard to Christ himself, which is what Marcion denied. . . . The very perfection he insists on is led up to by the earlier writings as a sort of milk.'

fection, suggests that Tatian, by making an antithesis between Law and Gospel, had implied that the Old Testament was the code of another god than the New Testament. It is interesting to observe, and the careful reader will verify it for himself, that the writer of our tract does take up a kind of half-way position between the Marcionite Canon and that of the Catholic Church. It is part of his doctrine of Perfection according to Jesus, to be anti-Judaic, and to regard the Old Testament as milk for babes. Yet he never abandons the Prophets, whom he groups with the Apostles as standing on the foundation of the Church. At the same time the pearl and the treasure are not for the Jews. We are the Finders, and it is implied that the others are the Losers, in the sense of being non-finders. Thus the writer's position is intermediate between Marcion and the Orthodox. He quotes the prophets for their ethics of the simple life, for the life itself he goes to the teachings of Jesus. It is easy to see that when he put Gospel above Law that he was exposing himself to a charge of Marcionism: but the attack could not be maintained. It was a misunderstanding of the actual case. Perfection according to Jesus did not mean, for our writer, the denial of the antecedents of the Church.

We may also say that it would be an injustice to the writer to suppose that he had created a new law of perfection by the way of meats and drinks, and ascetic habits. Nothing can be clearer than that he is one of the company who interpret, in Jesus' own sense, the words of Jesus about the inwardness of the Kingdom. He is a mystic and has the Kingdom within him. His treasure is sealed in the hidden receptacle of an obedient and believing heart; his priceless pearl is no external bedizenment, but an inner experience, guarded with trembling, even when its owner is most elate with joy:

> Joy past all speech, of glory full,
> But stored where none may know;
> Like manna hid in dewy heaven,
> Or pearls in ocean low.

But, as John Bunyan would say, of such confessions and experiences, 'The Philistines understand me not.' They only study them under the heading of 'Varieties of Religious Experience.'

Now let us return to the 'purple patch,' as Mr. Conybeare calls it, on military service, and ask whether the author of our tract had been in the army. The description of military training which is given

in our tract is so vivid that it provoked the exclamation from my friend Mr. L. W. Grensted, to whom I read it, that 'the man must have been in the army.' This was certainly a new light on the history of the writer. Is there any ground for this suspicion of military discipline or experience in his case or in the case of Tatian? We turn to Tatian's *Discourse to the Greeks*, and we find in c. 11 the statement, 'I have no will to rule, no desire to wealth, military office (*τὴν στρατηγίαν*) I have abjured (*παρῄτημαι*),' where the change in the tense shows we have to do with an actual experience and not merely an anti-militarist sentiment. May we conclude that Tatian had been in the army and had come out of it? That would be a new fact in his history, brought to light by our tract and its internal criticism. The matter is so important that it deserves a more careful consideration. Mr. Conybeare thinks the perfect tense of the verb does not carry the experimental meaning. 'I do not,' he says, 'infer that the writer had been in the army (as Mr. Grensted did), and, if he had, he need not be Tatian. I take *στρατηγίαν παρῄτημαι* as I do *βασιλείαν οὐ θέλω*. He was never Emperor, nor dreamed of being, and *στρατηγίαν παρῄτημαι* is the same sort of rhetorical hyperbole. I don't think the perfect implies that he had actually served in the army. It is, as you say, a strong present.' The objections here made are of considerable weight. To resolve them we may examine the passage more closely and more at length. Tatian continues the declaration given above with the following words:

'I hate uncleanness (*πορνείαν μεμίσηκα*); I do not engage in seafaring to satisfy my avarice; I am not in the arena to gain crowns, I have rid myself of Doxomania (*δοξομανίας ἀπήλλαγμαι*), and as for death, I despise it.' The question is whether this is mere rhetoric, the perfect tenses being literary variations, and, if we please, intensive forms of the current present tenses. The first of these is in debate. The second is uncertain. It may only mean 'I have (always) hated uncleanness,' in which case it differs little from an intensive present.

We come now to the statement that 'I have rid myself of *δοξομανία*'; what is Doxomania, and does the writer merely rid himself of it in a theoretical way, as one might rid oneself of temptation or passion? The queer word is used contemptuously of the strife of opinion amongst the philosophers; Tatian uses it again of philosophic conceit in c. 19, where he says that we are to despise death,

not after the philosophic swagger of Anaxarchus, who invited his persecutors to pound his sack, i.e. the body in which he lived. Now we know from this parallel and elsewhere what Tatian meant when he said, 'I have rid myself of *Doxomania*.' He means that he has given up philosophy. Is that rhetoric or is it history? There can be no doubt as to the answer. The whole argument of Tatian with the Greeks turns on the fact that he was once in the philosophers' schools himself. 'I was born in Assyria,' he says, 'and my first education was in your learning';

παιδευθεὶς πρῶτον τὰ ὑμέτερα, c. 42.

'We bade farewell to the wisdom that is with you (Greeks)' c. 1.

Then it is a historical statement that he is making, and the perfect tense is in order; the use of a present tense in our translation is unthinkable. And if this be so, we must interpret the abjuration of military office in a similar sense. It is history, not rhetoric.

Perhaps the matter may become a little clearer on a closer investigation of the passage in Tatian. Why are all these disclaimers introduced, whether theoretical or practical? Tatian has been discussing the frailties and metamorphoses of the Olympians, and then he proceeds to ask how it is possible for him to accept a belief in Genesis according to fixed Fate, when the predestination is in the hands of such worthless characters. He is meeting the objections of the Stoic, who has explained to him that Zeus and the rest are various forms of the same fundamental idea; that Zeus is Fate and Fate is Zeus. From this point of view, if one aspired to rule, Zeus is our patron, if one goes to war we have Ares for our friend, and so on. 'But,' says Tatian, 'I don't want to rule and have no need of Zeus: I am not wishful for wealth (πλοῦτος), and so can dispense with Pluto; military rule I have abjured, and have no appeal to Ares; as for sensual love I detest the very thought of it, and its patron Aphrodite; I am under no necessity of taking long sea-voyages for gain, so do not need to invoke Poseidon; I never enter the arena to win garlands, nor frequent the Pythian games over which Apollo presides; I have rid myself of vainglory (what god or goddess was he thinking of here? is it Hermes?) and I have no fear of death or disease, which relieves me of the necessity of calling in the aid of Asklepios.' So he dispenses with the thought of the Fate into which the Stoics had resolved their Olympians. We cannot reduce this vivid protest to philosophi-

cal rhetoric; there is personal experience mixed with it. The superiority to the fear of death must surely be a spiritual experience: so must the rejection of the vainglory of life: and if this be so I do not see why we should refuse to see the same trait of personal experience in the abandonment of military honours.

We can now go back to our tract, and say that if its glowing sketch of military life is taken from real experience (and it is certainly very vivid, too vivid for mere rhetoric), then we have before us the possibility that we have caught Tatian as a military man in two different stages of evolution—first as a conscript, and next as a deserter.

We have made some reference in the foregoing pages to Mr. Conybeare's criticisms, as that the tract is not as old as the second century, that its description of military service is a 'purple patch' of rhetoric, which can easily be paralleled in monastic writing, and that the composition is from the hands of some early ascetic. Any criticisms from so close a student of early Church history and literature as Mr. Conybeare must have much weight with those who have worked in the same field as himself; and it would be rash to say that we have taken all the force out of his objections. At least we hope that we have stated them fairly, and in his own language.

Something similar comes to me from my friend Professor Vernon Bartlet, who thinks the tract belongs to the latter part of the third century, that it is monastic in origin, and that it belongs to the Mesopotamian area, say to Edessa as a centre. It is monastic, because of the tendency which the writer shows to 'specialize the notion of true discipleship down to a celibate and unworldly type (as distinct from "believers" in the common Catholic sense'). Dr. Bartlet draws the parallel with those 'Sons of the Covenant,' of whom Aphraates speaks, to whom Professor Burkitt drew attention some years since,[1] and whom he supposed to be the real Eastern Church, as distinct from its unbaptized rank and file. There is still something perplexing about these Bnai Qyama: Dom. Connolly claimed them as monks, of a Western type, but without bringing forward satisfactory evidence that monachism had been imported from Egypt or Palestine into

[1] See also his recent paper before the British Academy on the *Early Syriac Lectionary System* (*Proc. B. Ac.*, xi. 1923): 'The Sons of the Covenant were different from the monks: they were ascetics, living a thome or in small groups, vowed to strict continence and a retired life.'

Mesopotamia in the days anterior to the writings of Aphraates. Dr. Bartlet inclines towards the position of Connolly, but with some reserve, and he sees in the ascetics of our tract the same monastic groupings as we find at the end of the third century in the Eastern Church. From this point of view the military service of our tract, described with so much vigour, is the conflict of the ascetic with his spiritual enemies; the covenants and vows to which allusion has been made are the monastic obligations, poverty, chastity, etc.: the 'lists' of life are the catalogues of postulants, etc. There is a good deal to be said for this point of view, and the objections have some parallels with those of Mr. Conybeare. What is doubtful is the status given to monastic life in the third century: it seems clear that the background of monasticism outside the regular life of the Church must be asceticism inside the same. That is, Encratism is the seed-bed of Monachism. But what is this but an admission that the Bnai Qyama, of whom we have found the traces, are the Encratites themselves, with a Semitic name instead of a Greek appellation.

We could then concede some of Dr. Bartlet's points, and still maintain that our tract, being Encratite, need not be depressed to the third century in order to find points of contact with Monachism. It might just as well be referred to the second century and so to the time of Tatian himself. There is, however, one point which Bartlet makes that has to be met. The ascetics of our tract speak of their imitation of Christ and the prophets, and one of the features in their imitation is their 'solitude.' That is, at first sight, monastic enough: but have we any reason to suppose that Encratism of the first period had sent its adherents into the wilderness? The answer to this difficulty appears to lie in the statement that the solitary mode of life was a part of the *Imitatio Christi*. Then, whatever it involved, it did not make the Encratite into an Eremite.[1]

We can perhaps make the matter somewhat clearer, by looking a little closer into the conditions under which the *Sons of the Covenant*

[1] Burkitt points out the difference between the *Bnai Qyama* and the regular ascetics, and says of their survival into the time of Rabbula that 'living as they did amongst ordinary human beings, and *not like the Hermits in the desert, or the Cœnobites in a separate society*, it became the duty of bishops like Rabbula to devise rules for the regulation of their course of life.'

lived, and by ascertaining their principle characteristics. To what extent were they ascetics, is a question that has already been referred to, in the foregoing pages. Burkitt's view, that the *Bnai Qyama* were simply the baptized laity of the early Syriac-speaking Church, and that in the earlier stages of that Church's development, no layman was accepted for baptism, unless he was prepared to lead a life of strict continence, and freedom from worldly cares, has been challenged ; but the force of the challenge is largely due, to an instinctive ecclesiastical reaction against a view so novel and so unexpected. And we may remember that, as Burkitt pointed out, the same restrictions, or nearly the same, with regard to the sexual relations of Christian people, prevailed amongst the Marcionites also, in the second century.

At the same time we may agree with him, that the rule of life which (Aphrahat) sketches out (for the Sons of the Covenant) is 'quiet, dignified, and temperate, with no special features of observance or asceticism.' Marriage was not altogether abandoned, or forbidden : or rather, it was abandoned in the letter, that it might be found in the spirit. There were *Daughters of the Covenant*, as well as *Sons of the Covenant*, and it seems clear that they did not always live apart, at least in the earliest days of the Syrian Church. It is this question, then, of the spiritual interpretation of marriage, that is the central point in the beliefs and practices of the Bnai Qyama. This is true, whether we concede the whole of Dr. Burkitt's case, or whether, with Dom Connolly, we reduce it to mere Monachism of the conventional type.

I think, however, that both Burkitt and Connolly have failed to find an origin for the name which these early believers gave to one another, when they were known as Bnai Qyama, or Sons of the Covenant. If they were the rank and file of the Church, the sum total of its baptized laymen, who found for them a title so comprehensive ? The answer that we should expect, would be that they are so described in the New Testament itself, and that it is highly improbable that they had no prototype in the sacred writings.

Now there is a passage in the Gospel, which gives us, at once, the clue to the origin of the mysterious *Bnai Qyama ;* a passage mysterious in itself, and difficult of explanation, and on that account, commonly left unexplained.

If we turn to Luke xx. 34-36, we have our Lord's reply to the question of the Sadducees, with regard to the woman with seven

husbands. He tells them that marriage is for the Sons of this world, but that those who are counted worthy to attain to the world to come, and to the resurrection of the dead, neither marry nor are given in marriage, nor can they die any more, for they rank with angels, they are Sons of God and Sons of the Resurrection. Thus Jesus taught that there was a community of celibate persons, who were Sons of the Life to come. Now in Syriac, there is only a terminal to distinguish these *Sons of the Resurrection* or *Bnai Qyamtha* from the *Sons of the Covenant* or *Bnai Qyama*, over whom we have been perplexing ourselves. And when we see the similarity of names, coincident with similarity in the doctrine, and find that they were both anti-sexual, we come to the conclusion that they were the same people ; and that instead of reading *Bnai Qyamtha* in the first Syriac Gospel, we may read *Bnai Qyama*, and may define them, in Jesus' own terms, as abstinents from marriage for the sake of the Kingdom of God. They took their title from the Gospel itself.

It is even possible (a point which Syriac lexicographers must settle) that the sharp distinction between Qyama (Covenant) and Qyamtha (Resurrection) belongs to a later development of the literature, and that originally, the two words from the same root meant the same thing. If that cannot be maintained, then one of the pair is a primitive variation of the other. Those who bore the title would, had they been Greeks, have been called Encratites ; being Syrians, they took the title of *Sons of the Covenant* (or *Sons of the Resurrection*). The argument is not affected by the objection, that these early believers appear to have misunderstood Jesus, by applying to the present life what he had said with regard to the non-sexuality of the Life to come, or Resurrection Life. It is a common ascetic misreading of our Lord's teaching, but all monastics are in the habit of calling their spiritual isolation by the name of the Angelic Life, and we may admit the same characteristic to have been a mark of the Bnai Qyama.

This does not, as we have said, affect our identification of the *Sons of the Covenant* and the *Sons of the Resurrection*. What does result, is proof of the antiquity of the term Bnai Qyama, and the impossibility of its having arisen amongst monastic Orders. Aphrahat, in his sixth discourse, which was addressed definitely to the Sons of the Covenant and the Daughters of the Covenant, not only defines

them evangelically as practising the Angelic Life, but shows signs of an actual acquaintance with the most striking passage in the tract that lies before us. Suppose we translate a few sentences :

> He who is trained in athletics, let him keep himself from this world;
> He who wishes to take the crown as a victor, let him run in the race;
> He who wishes to go down into the stadium to the conflict, let him go into training against his adversary;
> He who wishes to go down into the war, let him take to him the armour for the conflict, and let him polish it constantly;
> He who will take on the Angelic Life (lit. likeness) let him become a stranger to men.

If we compare these sentences, with the description in our tract, of the warrior preparing himself in advance for the conflict, and polishing his armour assiduously, we can hardly avoid the conclusion, that Aphrahat was familiar with our text, and used it, naturally enough, when writing to the *Bnai Qyama*. So the document is earlier than the days of Aphrahat, and belonged to the standard literature of the Eastern Church, along with the Biblical texts which Aphrahat quotes so freely in the same connection.[1]

This is not the only case in which Aphrahat shows dependence upon our tract. In his fourteenth discourse, he tells us that Jesus is 'the good pearl, and we are the merchants who, to acquire it, have sold our possessions, and He is the treasure in the field which when we found, we rejoiced and purchased it.' We have only to compare the words of our author : 'He found one costly and precious pearl, went, sold all his possessions, and bought it at a price ; this again He has spoken with regard to perfect discipleship, for He is Himself the pearl, and we are the merchants who have found Him. . . . Like a man who has found a treasure in a field, for joy he went and sold all that he had. He is Himself the Treasure which the Father has appointed for us.' Aphrahat has practically transcribed the comments of our author on Our Lord's parables.

Something of the same kind may be noted in his tenth discourse, which is concerned with the Christian ministry. Aphrahat explains how the good shepherds of ancient days were called from their flocks

[1] A further discussion of the influence of Encratism on the Biblical text will be found in an interesting article by Dr. Plooij in the *Zeitschrift f. N. T. Wissenschaft, Bd.* 22, 1923, entitled *Eine enkratitische Glosse im Diatessaron.*

to the larger service of the people of God: 'Moses,' says he, 'was a shepherd, and so was David and Amos. All these were shepherds who shepherded the flock and guided them well.' With this we compare the closing sentences of our fragment: 'Moses became the leader and with uprightness did lead, and became shepherd and well did pasture,' etc.

When our writer warns those who take on the name of discipleship unworthily, he quotes two examples by way of deterrent, Gehazi and Judas Iscariot. Of these he says:

> Gehazi, the disciple of Elisha, approached [discipleship] in name, but never really fulfilled it. For he surrendered the heavenly possessions, and coveted the earthly possessions; so he was rejected, and clad in leprosy.

Compare this with Aphrahat i., col. 629 (*Discourse* xiv.).

> And Gehazi, too, the disciple of Elisha, his covetousness clad him in leprosy.

The expression 'clad in leprosy' comes from 2 Kings v. 27 in the Syriac version. The two passages quoted are evidently related. Our text goes on to say that:

> Judas, one of the twelve Apostles of our Saviour, he too coveted the things of the world, and he was rejected, and his name erased from the tale of life.

Aphrahat continues:

> Covetousness has slain many and deprived them of life. Judas Iscariot, one of the twelve, his covetousness was not satisfied with thieving, until he took the price of him that was the Precious One, and by his covetousness he was separated from the disciples, his companions.

The coincidence in the theme and in the treatment of it in these two cases, shows that Aphrahat is familiar with the text of our author.

He makes a similar conjunction between Gehazi and Judas in i. col. 292:

> Elisha cursed his disciple Gehazi: Our Saviour cursed (sic!) his disciple Judas.

and again in i. col. 690, 691.

> By coveteousness of Naaman's money which Gehazi received he and his progeny were clad in leprosy for ever. . . By coveteousness of his theft, Judas became the traitor of the King Messiah.

Our tract tells us of the warrior ready for battle, that

> he hears the sound of the trumpet that stimulates him, and is encouraged and strengthened to take stand against the enemy.

with which we may compare Aphrahat, i. 341 (*Discourse*, vii.)

> O ye who are called to the conflict, hear the sound of the trumpet and be encouraged.

It will be agreed that the discovery of the close acquaintance of Aphrahat with our Armenian tract, makes a great change in the criticism of the same, from the standpoint of chronology. Aphrahat belongs to the early part of the fourth century; he lived far away from the intellectual and controversial life of the Church: he did not even know of the existence of the Nicene Council, in his Persian retreat; his library was so scant that it is not easy to identify from his writings any non-Biblical literature, and for the Gospels, he is supposed to have been limited to Tatian. Yet he appears to know the tract on Perfection almost by heart, if we may judge from the foregoing parallels. Is it likely that the matter which he is incorporating comes from the end of the third century, as has been suggested? or that the author of the tract was, to the East Syrian Church, a person of intellectual or spiritual insignificance? It seems to us, there can be only one answer. If the writer was not Tatian himself, he must have been almost a contemporary, and a person of precisely similar religious and ethical outlook.

But why should we multiply personalities? It surely is not Bardaisan or Marcion that is being quoted.

We now proceed to enquire whether Ephraim, who is the next after Aphrahat in the history of the Syrian Church shows any acquaintance with our tract. For example, Ephraim has the very same collocation of the two faithless disciples: he tells us that 'two dark disciples these were, to two shining teachers, Gehazi to Elisha and Judas to Christ' [Eph. (R.E.), Opp. iii. p. 622]. Again, in the *Commentary on the Diatessaron* (Mös. p. 91) he says: "Do not possess gold, lest Judas should be found among you, and that which deprived Achan of life, and clothed Gehazi with leprosy, and led astray the whole of the people in the desert." And here is something still more striking. He has a series of 'Hymns on the Pearl of the

Faith,' and in the third of these he refers to our Lord's parable of the goodly pearl and says :

> Let us see by means of the worldly pearl, the heavenly pearl. It is in a case (purse) and also under seal, inside the treasury. Within the door there are other doors with their bolts and keys : Thy pearl, it is very high [Eph. (R.E.), Opp. iii. p. 155].

If we compare this with the curious account in our tract of the way that the pearl is preserved, we shall see so many parallelisms as to leave little doubt that Ephraim also was acquainted with the writer, a knowledge forming another testimony to the antiquity of the book.[1]

Perhaps these proofs of the dependence of the earliest Syrian fathers upon our tract will be sufficient to convince my friends, Bartlet and Conybeare, that we are not dealing with a third-century product. Meanwhile my thanks to them both for their criticisms and an especial acknowledgment of the help which Mr. Conybeare has given me in the translation of the Armenian text.[2]

[1] The antiquity of the interpretation which our writer makes of the Finding and Guarding of the Pearl may be seen by a later development which is based upon it. In a Crawford Coptic fragment of the sixth century (*Rylands Copt. MSS.* No. 72), Mary becomes the Pearl, and Joseph the Merchant, who renounces all wordly possessions to acquire her. And the same explanation with an even closer approximation of our text will be found in the new volume of Coptic texts from the Freër collection (p. 361), where it is said, "Blessed art thou, Joseph, innocent old man, for thou wast allotted this Treasury, sealed and of Pearls." Evidently this is derived from our tract, with its spiritual interpretation abandoned for an allegory of the Nativity.

[2] Mr. Conybeare tells me that he is now satisfied that the tract belongs to the second century.

THE MESSIAH AND THE SON OF MAN.[1]

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THERE is no problem more momentous for the student of Christian origins nor one more keenly debated than that which is to engage our attention. Jesus challenged His disciples with the question "Who do you say that I am?" But for us it is far more important to discover what Jesus believed and claimed Himself to be. The ultimate question, indeed, is what He really was. But the answer is to be sought not on one line of enquiry only but on several. For we must estimate the impression He made on His contemporaries, whether friendly or hostile; the influence He exerted on those He selected for companionship and training; the record of His activity; the presentation of His personality; the quality of His teaching; His death and His triumph over death. To these we must add the movement He created, the men He transformed, the worship He evoked, the place He has filled in universal history. But the issue with which we are concerned must fill its indispensable place in the enquiry. The secret of His own consciousness will always in a measure elude us; but so far as He explicitly disclosed it or we can with justice divine it, so far we must appropriate it and give it its full weight in our theory of His person.

So much will probably be on all hands admitted. For whatever our personal attitude to the ultimate problem may be, the view which Jesus Himself took of His Nature and His task is a datum of undeniable significance. But many will wonder why I should speak of a problem, on which much debate has been concentrated. For is it not clear from the records themselves that Jesus believed Himself to be the Messiah, the Son of David, the Son of man, the Son of God?

[1] The substance of two lectures delivered in the John Rylands Library.

But a historical student has to investigate not only the contents but also the truth of his sources. Even if for himself he held that the documents were Divinely protected from the least taint of error, he could not evade the obligation to establish their truth for those who did not share this conviction. Since the conviction itself is in our own day more and more widely abandoned, we must treat the question, so far as the subject itself permits, as a historical problem to be solved by the methods proper to historical enquiry. And when we take up the literature of the subject we quickly discover that there is scarcely any point which is not disputed by scholars of great eminence.

Since the only sources of our information are documentary, it would be necessary in any extended treatment to investigate the literary problems which the documents present. For our purpose and in our space this would be inappropriate, so I must simply indicate the critical presuppositions. It is well known that the large majority of critics regard Mark as our oldest Gospel and as a source employed by the authors of the first and third Gospels. It is also widely, though not quite so widely, held that these two Gospels employed a second source, no longer extant. This, which is now usually indicated by the symbol Q, consisted largely of sayings and discourses of Jesus. The relation between these two primary sources, Mark and Q, is variously estimated, some assuming Mark to be the earlier, others Q, while others again regard them as nearly contemporaneous. Of course it does not follow that if one of them was appreciably older than the other it would have been employed by the later writer, though some scholars hold that there was dependence on one side or the other. Other possibilities to be borne in mind are that the documents themselves, notably Mark, may have passed through successive editions, and been known to Matthew in one form and to Luke in another. And while chronological priority may not unreasonably be held to imply on the whole greater historical trustworthiness, this principle needs to be applied with more caution than has often been exhibited. I must also regard it as highly probable that Luke had access to a very valuable set of reminiscences whether in oral or in written form. We cannot forget that he accompanied Paul to Jerusalem on the visit which was terminated by his arrest and was with him on his voyage to Rome. It does not follow that he was in Palestine for the whole

of the intervening period; but he had first-rate opportunities for gathering reminiscences of Jesus from members of the Palestinian Church.[1]

It is now more and more widely believed that the Fourth Gospel is to be almost entirely set aside by those who are seeking to reconstruct the career and teaching of Jesus. This attitude has been for a long time prevalent in Germany and it has made great headway among scholars in Great Britain and in America. In recent years, especially since the work of Wellhausen, Schwartz and Spitta, the problem of its composite structure has more and more engaged the attention of scholars. A comparison of the first with the second edition of Loisy's *Le Quatrième Évangile* will show how far opinion has travelled in the interval. Probably the student will do well, in a subject so rapidly moving, to adopt an attitude of extreme caution towards theories which have yet to be thoroughly tested, all the more that different analyses proceed upon different principles. But whatever the truth may be about the authorship, the date, or the unity of the Fourth Gospel, I believe that it has preserved for us a number of precious reminiscences. In the present state of opinion, however, it is desirable to build on our earliest sources in the first instance. It must of course be recognised that we cannot exclude the possibility that the

[1] I should perhaps add that Synoptic criticism is passing into a new stage. In this stress is laid on the necessity of investigating the problem of form and determining the literary types in the first three Gospels. The following books may be mentioned: Martin Dibelius, *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* (1919); Karl Ludwig Schmidt, *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu* (1919); Martin Albertz, *Die Synoptischen Streitgespräche* (1921); Rudolf Bultmann, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* (1921); Georg Bertram, *Die Leidensgeschichte und der Christuskult* (1922). In his *Kyrios Christos* (second edition, p. 33) Bousset says that he hardly needs to emphasise that he assumes the two-document theory as the basis of his investigation. But he adds that there are far more difficult and still more important problems which have scarcely yet been attempted. Previous criticism has been too much occupied with analysis into sources. A new method must be adopted which will put stylistic criticism in the foreground and investigate the laws of oral tradition. The problem is to trace the process by which Mark and Q grew up. This will no doubt prove a fruitful field of investigation and it may have important bearings on the future investigation of the Gospel history and religion. But since the discussion of it is only in its initial stages, it is better, in the investigation of our special problem, to leave it out of account.

Christology of the Church may have affected the report of the sayings or activities of Jesus.

I begin with the problem of the Messiahship of Jesus. It is undeniable that the Church from its earliest days regarded Jesus as the Messiah.[1] Our oldest sources take back this belief into the lifetime of Jesus. They represent Jesus Himself as accepting the title. The belief is said to have been formulated by Peter at Cæsarea Philippi (Mark viii. 30); and the people are aware of it, at least from the time of the triumphant entry into Jerusalem. In spite of this, it has been doubted by some modern scholars whether Jesus ever made any claim to be the Messiah or even was so regarded by the disciples in His lifetime. I take the case of Wrede as illustrating this position, especially since he called attention to phenomena in the Gospels which had received insufficient consideration.[2] He put great emphasis on the in-

[1] Since some readers may question my right to assume this, I may refer to the opening paragraph of Bousset's *Kyrios Christos* in which he says that, however much the self-consciousness of Jesus Himself might be contested, it may be taken as fully assured that the community at Jerusalem was established from the outset on the basis of the conviction that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah expected by the Jewish people. I might add that while he refuses to go so far as to say that Jesus never used the title Son of man of Himself, this negative being incapable of proof, yet in very numerous cases he believes that this self-designation did not go back to Jesus, but originated in the tradition of the community, and that here if anywhere, we have before us in the confession of Jesus as the Son of man the conviction of the primitive community (second edition, p. 5). In view of Bousset's extremely negative position with reference to the view that Jesus regarded Himself as Messiah and Son of man, his testimony may presumably be deemed sufficient warrant for my statement.

[2] W. Wrede, *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien* (1901). The book attracted great attention in Germany. English readers should consult Schweitzer's *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, chap. 19. Wrede's work and his own little work *The Secret of the Messiahship and the Passion* (*Das Messianitäts- und Leidensgeheimnis* (1901), which, with its curiously similar title, was published on the same day, are used by Schweitzer to point the moral of his historical investigation that we must choose between Wrede's radical scepticism or J. Weiss's and his own radical eschatology. For a severe criticism of Wrede see Sanday *The Life of Christ in Recent Research*, pp. 69-76. Jülicher's *Neue Linien in der Kritik der Evangelischen Überlieferung* has an important discussion of Wrede, as also of Harnack and Wellhausen. The work opens with a very sarcastic estimate of Schweitzer's *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*. Bousset in his discussion of the Messianic secret absolutely agrees with Wrede's presentation of the facts but differs in his estimate of them (*Kyrios Christos*,

junctions to secrecy recorded in the Synoptic Gospels and especially in Mark. The demons are forbidden to disclose the Messiahship, and similarly the disciples after Peter's confession. He laid stress also on the difficulty caused by the prolonged delay in the disclosure itself. The solution which he offered was that Mark devised the theory of the Messianic secret to account for a difficulty. The disciples, having attained the conviction that Jesus had risen from the dead, drew the inference that He was the Messiah. A difficulty, however, was created by the fact that it was not known that Jesus had made any such claim in His lifetime. Confronted by this difficulty, Mark put forward the theory that Jesus was conscious of His Messiahship from His Baptism, but guarded it as a secret ; it was divined by the demoniacs with their psychical sensitiveness, and later declared by Peter, who had been illuminated by Divine revelation. In each case silence as to the secret was rigidly enjoined. Thus it came to pass that, although Jesus had known Himself to be the Messiah and the secret had been divulged to a limited circle, it had remained, outside of it, entirely unknown.

Wrede's solution has met with little if any acceptance. And rightly, for it involves a scepticism as to the trustworthiness of our narratives so radical that, if it could be justified, we could hardly trust them for anything. His account of the origin of the conviction in the primitive Church is exposed to the gravest objections. He asserts that the early Church based its identification of Jesus with the Messiah on the belief that He had risen from the dead. But the consequence by no means follows. We have no ground for supposing that the belief in Messiahship would be a likely inference to draw from the belief in a man's resurrection. The Old Testament knew cases of resurrection in which no one dreamed of such an inference. And there is a contemporary case which is quite conclusive. Herod and some of the people thought that Jesus was John the Baptist who had risen from the dead. But not one of them hit upon the idea that He

second edition, pp. 66 f.). In particular, while allowing that Mark's tendency in this respect has coloured the narrative of the confession at Cæsarea Philippi, he disagrees with Wrede's inclination to regard the whole story as an invention. "Peter's Messianic confession must stand as historical. But owing to the evangelist's tendency to paint the picture over, the answer of Jesus has been unfortunately lost to us." The first sentence is a noteworthy concession to historical truth.

was therefore the Messiah. Further the conviction entertained by the disciples that Jesus had risen from the dead needs itself to be explained. If the resurrection actually occurred, the problem does not exist ; but as Wrede did not regard it as an actual fact, it must be explained in some other way. The belief is supposed to rest on the visions and these are regarded not as objective but as subjective. But how would these be generated ? They could be explained only as effects of the impression made by Jesus during His lifetime. But a conviction so amazing in the circumstances, to the consideration of which I will return—the accursed mode of His death, the verdict of the religious leaders, the apparent ruin of His cause—require us to postulate that the impression they had formed of His personality was of a wholly exceptional kind. This creates a strong presumption in favour of the view that Jesus was in His own lifetime regarded as Messiah ; and, if so, certainly not without His own knowledge and approval. Wrede's theory of the Messianic secret is accordingly untenable. But at this point it is best to merge the special in the wider discussion, and to state the grounds on which the view, not of Wrede alone, but of other scholars that Jesus never claimed to be the Messiah, must be rejected. We can then return to the problem of the Messianic secret.

The story of the Baptism raises several critical questions. But the fact that Jesus was baptised by John may be taken as quite certain since it cannot have been invented. For had it never taken place, it would not have occurred to any follower of Jesus to relate that his Master had submitted to baptism at the hands of John, since this might be interpreted to imply a recognition of His dependence on John and inferiority to him. And this all the more that the baptism administered by John was a repentance-baptism received for the remission of sins. It is quite clear from the addition of the conversation between John and Jesus in Matt. iii. 14 f. that this difficulty was acutely felt in the early Church. We cannot be sure that Q recorded the baptism since the texts of Matthew and Luke can be accounted for without the assumption that they used Q. Yet it is probable on general grounds that Q did relate the story. It included the account of the detailed temptations, and this becomes intelligible only from the story of the Baptism and the heavenly voice. Moreover, since Q recorded the ministry of John it is scarcely credible that it omitted what

was for Christians the act in which that ministry culminated. But unless we hold that Mark at this point drew upon Q, we have no evidence that either Matthew or Luke derived their story of the Baptism from it. Fortunately, however, for our purpose this is not serious, since the declaration of Divine Sonship is guaranteed by the fact that the first two temptations start from it. We can accordingly assert with considerable assurance that both of our earliest sources related that Jesus heard the Divine declaration "Thou art my beloved Son."

A statement critically so well attested ought, it would seem, to command our confidence. Yet very eminent critics have doubted it. Replying to the question whether this was the oldest form of the tradition, Harnack says: "I share with Wellhausen the conviction that it was not, that it has rather taken the place of the more ancient story of the Transfiguration" (*Sprüche und Reden Jesu*, p. 138). This judgment rests on the assumption that the story of the Baptism and that of the Transfiguration are parallel and give mutually exclusive accounts of the Divine declaration of the Sonship of Jesus. But as the two accounts stand in Mark, there are noteworthy differences between them. Wellhausen recognises these, but attributes them to the skill with which Mark has incorporated them and made them distinct incidents (*Das Evangelium Marci*, first edition, p. 75, second edition, pp. 69 f.). But there is no conclusive reason for adopting this view. The appropriateness of the difference in language, which Wellhausen attributes to the skill with which the author adjusted the language to the different situations he had created, may just as well be explained on the more obvious assumption that the situations were, in fact, different. And even if the oldest tradition knew of one occasion only on which the heavenly voice was uttered, it still would not follow that this occasion was the Transfiguration rather than the Baptism. Indeed we may hesitate all the more to follow Wellhausen that he believes the story of the Transfiguration to have been originally the account of an appearance of Jesus after the Resurrection! And the probabilities of the case speak strongly for the view that at the Baptism Jesus attained the consciousness of Divine Sonship. The definite conviction of a Divine call to a special mission could alone have justified to Him the acceptance of His vocation and the entry on His public ministry. The experience in the wilderness follows naturally, one might almost

say inevitably, upon this. And Q's story of the Temptation, if authentic, guarantees the story that in the Baptism Jesus attained the conviction of His Sonship. The denial of the experience on the banks of the Jordan logically carries with it the rejection of the triple temptation, which would then lose its occasion and starting-point, and thus one act of critical violence logically leads on to another. In view of all these considerations, we may with some confidence accept the representation of our sources that with the submission to John's Baptism there was linked the consciousness of Divine Sonship ; that its sequel was retirement into the wilderness and temptation there ; and that this temptation took the form which it received in Matthew and Luke, who at this point were drawing upon Q.

The consciousness which Jesus attained in His Baptism was not of a Sonship shared by others, for this had all along been central in His religious life, but of a Sonship which was unique. It probably included the conviction that He was the Messiah, for this seems to be implied in the third temptation ; but it need not have been exhausted by this.

This conclusion is corroborated by the account of the immediate sequel to the Baptism. Under the constraint of the Spirit who had descended upon Him, He went into the solitude of the wilderness. The object of His retirement was that He might meditate on all that this new consciousness involved, might discern clearly the task to which His vocation committed Him, and the means by which He was to achieve it, and withal that He might be tested to the uttermost and remain sure alike of Himself and His mission. The first two temptations, if I correctly understand them, are directed to the same end, while approaching it by opposite ways. They test the conviction of His Sonship, which must rest on the inward witness of the Spirit and the voice of God, a conviction which must, to be of avail for Him, stand above all need of confirmation by signs and wonders. If He yields to the suggestion to reassure Himself by such expedients, the battle will have been already lost, since the attempt would imply that He had already begun to doubt. Caught in the period of reaction from His ecstasy, with His physical forces at their lowest and the apparent indifference of God to His fate only too plain, He maintains His conviction unshaken. But now His second problem emerges. Secure in the knowledge He has won of the secret of His personality and the nature of His vocation, there is the possibility that His mission may prove a

failure if it be pursued along false lines. It is in this third temptation, to do homage to Satan for the sovereignty of the world, that the Messianic element in His vocation is most clearly implied. For the Messianic hope of His countrymen looked forward to a mighty conqueror who should break the yoke of the oppressor and establish the sovereignty of the Jewish people over the other nations. And it was naturally a real temptation to Jesus to accept this conception of Messiahship with which He was familiar; and a striking proof of His spiritual insight that He refused to compromise with a lower ideal and remain steadfast in uttermost obedience to what He knew to be the will of God.

This account of the Baptism and the Temptation commends itself by its internal consistency, by its harmony with the situation, and by its fitness as a prelude to what is to follow. If it is correct, it establishes the Messianic consciousness of Jesus, and whatever else may be involved in the consciousness of Divine Sonship, as His secure possession before His ministry began. But the case for His Messianic consciousness has other supports than this and to these I must now turn.

The triumphal entry into Jerusalem implies His Messianic consciousness. For it must have been intended as a fulfilment of Zechariah's prophecy: "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold, thy king cometh unto thee: he is righteous and victorious; poor, and riding upon an ass, even upon a colt, the foal of an ass" (Zech. ix. 9). We need not insist that Jesus instigated the popular enthusiasm by any disclosure of what the act meant for Himself. It is quite conceivable that He desired no popular demonstration. The main intention of the act was to conform to the Messianic rôle as the prophet had depicted it. The consequences of the action did not so much concern Him. It is not quite clear, in fact, that the demonstration was designed as a welcome to the Messianic King. In our oldest source the acclamations are reported in this way: "Hosanna; Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord: Blessed is the kingdom that cometh, *the kingdom* of our father David: Hosanna in the highest." This need not imply more than that Jesus was regarded as a harbinger of the Kingdom. The later documents definitely make the identification with the Messiah, Matthew using the term "Son of David," Luke, "the King," John, "the King of Israel." But John adds the significant words, "These things understood not his disciples at the first: but when Jesus was glorified, then remembered they that

these things were written of him, and that they had done these things unto him" (xii. 16). The difficulty in regarding the triumphal entry as a Messianic demonstration is that the authorities took no action upon it; and apparently no reference was made to it at the trial of Jesus, though it would have greatly strengthened the case against Him. But, whatever the attitude of the people may have been, and however the disciples regarded the action of Jesus, it seems to be clear that in His own mind the action was imposed upon Him by the necessity of fulfilling Messianic prophecy; and that He felt the pressure of this necessity and acted in accordance with it, demonstrates that He believed Himself to be the Messiah.

The case is even stronger when we come to His trial and crucifixion. The trial before the Jewish authorities may be dismissed by some as yielding untrustworthy evidence. It is open to a critic to argue that, in the nature of the case, we have no authentic evidence. But even if there was no one among His judges from whom the information could have been directly derived, it would betray a singular lack of familiarity with actual life to suppose that the facts would not have leaked out. Moreover, His accusers must have stated such relevant evidence as they had secured when they brought Him to Pilate. And the confession of Messiahship, if such it is, bears intrinsic marks of genuineness. Its peculiar form as reported by Matthew (xxvi. 64) and Luke (xxii. 70) guarantees its authenticity. Matthew's "Thou hast said" and Luke's "Ye say that I am" seem to be intended as an affirmative reply and are so taken by the High Priest and the judges. This sense is, in fact, fixed by the use of the same formula to Judas in Matt. xxvi. 25. It was not a common formula to express affirmation; and probably there is a shade of meaning in it which distinguishes it from a bare affirmation.[1] In the Greek, at any rate, the second personal pronoun is emphatic, and the suggestion seems to be that the meaning is: "It is you who employ the term; I should not have used it myself; but I admit that it is correct." This guarded and almost ambiguous statement is so apt to the actual situation in which Jesus found Himself, that it is difficult to think that it was put into his mouth by a later writer.

[1] See Thayer, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xiii. pp. 307-313. Strack and Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash: Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*, pp. 990 f.

But the trial before Pilate and the Crucifixion supply still more decisive evidence. Very few who acknowledge the historical existence of Jesus have had the hardihood to deny that He was put to death by crucifixion. But since denial has not been altogether wanting, though based on the flimsiest grounds, I will briefly explain why the crucifixion must be regarded as a historical fact. When I was considering a number of years ago whether we could devise arguments to prove the historical existence of Jesus which would be quite independent of evidence derived from the Christian documents, it occurred to me that we could infer the fact with certainty from the form which the Jewish Messianic doctrine had received in the Christian Church.[1] It may be argued that already by the first century A.D. Judaism had developed the doctrine of a suffering and slain Messiah, though this is dubious. It is, however, quite certain that it could not have represented the Messiah as put to death by crucifixion. For this mode of death is accounted as accursed in the Hebrew law which says : "he that is hanged is accursed of God" (Deut. xxi. 23). This mode of death has, in fact, seemed to the Jews to negative decisively the Messiahship of Jesus. If, then, we find a Jewish sect which has for its central dogma the Messiahship of one whom it asserts to have been crucified, there can be only one explanation for this. The story of the Founder's death by crucifixion obviously could not have been invented. For it presented an insuperable difficulty to the propaganda of the sect. To the Jews it seemed to place an impassable barrier in the way of the acceptance of Christianity, while to the Greeks the story seemed the extreme of folly. The leaders of a new movement do not create gratuitous difficulties for themselves ; nothing but sheer necessity could have forced the Christian leaders to go to their Jewish countrymen with the story of a crucified Messiah. Only in one way can we account for the form their message took. They must have been adherents of a leader whom they believed to be Messiah, who had been executed on the cross. And in spite of the verdict of the Law, which was for them the verdict of God, they must still have believed Him to be Messiah. By this line of argument we establish not only the historical existence of Jesus but also His death by cruci-

[1] I first stated this argument in my lecture *Did Jesus Rise Again?* (1902) ; see also *Christianity : its Nature and its Truth*, pp. 156-158 ; *The Bible : its Origin, its Significance, and its Abiding Worth*, p. 318.

fixion. For in no other way could we account for the abnormal development which the Jewish Messianic belief received in the Christian Church.

To the fuller implications of this for our particular subject I shall return; but I am at present establishing the fact of the crucifixion. While the more merciful Jewish law made stoning the normal form of capital punishment, crucifixion was a Roman mode of execution. The question is accordingly, How did Jesus come to be executed by this Roman mode of death? He was, we are told, delivered to the Roman authorities by His fellow-countrymen. Now, however worthy of death the Jewish rulers may, from their own standpoint, have felt Jesus to be, they could not expect a Roman Governor to condemn and crucify Him on the ground that Jewish law required His death. They had to charge Him with a crime of which Roman administration could take cognizance. His claim to Messiahship afforded them the plausible pretext they needed, since this could be represented to Pilate as high treason against the Emperor. Pilate realised that Jesus was not an ordinary Messianic revolutionary, and was, therefore, willing to release Him. At the same time Jesus did not disavow but apparently admitted the truth of the charge, so that Pilate finally gave way. Here, again, we have in all our Synoptists the curious formula of affirmation "Thou sayest." Jesus throws on Pilate the responsibility for using the term, while admitting that it was correct. Had He repudiated the charge, it is very questionable if Pilate would have yielded to the Jews. He could have securely defied them if he had satisfied himself that the accusation had no substance. What seems to have determined his final action was the fact that the prisoner would not deny His Messiahship, and, indeed, appeared to admit it. Pilate realised that, however innocent the Messiahship in question might be, it would be a serious matter for him if he should be proved to have released a man charged with claiming to be the Messiah, who had Himself chosen to go to the cross rather than to plead innocence. We may, accordingly, infer with practical certainty from the fact of the crucifixion that Jesus regarded Himself as Messiah. This is further corroborated by the title over the cross which represented Jesus as King of the Jews. There is no valid reason for doubting its authenticity.

A case so strong stands in no need of further evidence. And yet

one of the strongest proofs remains to be mentioned. I have pointed out already in reply to Wrede that the conviction of the Messiahship of Jesus held by the Church was in the circumstances so amazing that it can be explained only on the basis of the impressions His disciples had formed of Jesus during His lifetime. The circumstances I enumerated were "The accursed mode of His death, the verdict of the religious leaders, the apparent ruin of His cause." Their mood was one of terrible disillusion. They had followed Jesus to the capital hoping that He would set up the Kingdom of God. They had entered Jerusalem in triumph; but the days slipped by and the hate of His enemies, in alliance with the treason of a disciple, had secured His downfall. So this was the end of their Messianic dream. They could not be indifferent to the fact that His claims had been rejected by the appointed custodians of religion, who were charged with the duty of adjudicating on such pretensions. And all this had been endorsed by the mode of His death, for this had brought Him under the Law's anathema, "He that is hanged is accursed of God." That with such overwhelming evidence against it, His disciples should have recovered a faith in His Messiahship, which they had held before His death is itself amazing; but that after His accursed death such a faith should have been for the first time created is, we may surely say, a sheer impossibility.

We may then infer with confidence that already before His death His disciples had believed Jesus to be the Messiah. But if so, we may take the further step of affirming that this cannot have been without the knowledge and the approval of Jesus. For Jesus could not have been unaware of the views entertained by His followers. And sooner or later He must have taken up a definite attitude to them. If He did not believe Himself to be the Messiah He could not have countenanced the belief of His followers that He was. And even if in His lifetime they had believed Him in spite of His own disclaimer to be the Messiah, itself a barely credible hypothesis, the tragic sequel would once for all have disabused them of their belief. And this would have equally been the case if the judgment of Jesus had been in suspense. We are left accordingly with the only remaining possibility that Jesus Himself had put His seal of approbation on their faith. And it is all the more necessary to assume this, that it was after all not so easy for a belief in the Messiahship of Jesus to

spring up spontaneously in the minds of His disciples. It was one of the difficulties which early Christian apologetic had to face that He had not fulfilled the Messianic rôle as foreshadowed by Old Testament prophets and elaborated in Jewish theology. In the momentous scene at Cæsarea Philippi the disciples enumerate the popular identifications of Jesus (Mark, viii. 28). Men had thought of Him as John the Baptist or Elijah or one of the prophets. From this it is clear that while the people readily recognised something so extraordinary in Jesus that they readily believed Him to be a great prophet who had returned from the realm of the dead, they had not identified Him with the Messiah ; and if we can trust the record in Matthew, Jesus accounted for Peter's confession of His Messiahship as the result of a Divinely given insight into His vocation (xvi. 17). But in any case it is clear that the career of Jesus did not naturally suggest to the Jews that He would prove to be the Messiah. We may accordingly regard it as incredible that the disciples should have maintained a belief in the Messiahship of Jesus, unless they were aware that this was His own belief about Himself. Such knowledge of His own mind was the sheet-anchor of their faith when they affirmed it to hostile priests and incredulous rulers.

Thus by several lines of mutually independent arguments, each of them weighty and some sufficient if they stood alone, but irresistible in their combination and their concentration from different angles on the same conclusion, we have demonstrated beyond all reasonable question that Jesus believed Himself to be the Messiah. This conclusion will be corroborated in the sequel and the significance of His conviction will be more fully disclosed. But the fact that the conclusion has been doubted warns us that the reasons for this doubt have to be explored more fully. And with this I return to the problem of the Messianic secret.

If Jesus regarded Himself as Messiah why did He Himself maintain such secrecy about it and enjoin such secrecy on others ? Why did He elicit the confession of His Messiaship from His disciples at so late a point in His ministry ? Why was it that He did not declare Himself to the people ? Why had the confession to be extorted from Him at His trial ? The view has been taken that the silence of Jesus was due to His own uncertainty. Only when His ministry was far advanced did He become sure in His own mind.

Through prolonged hesitation and acute inward struggle He had to reach the conviction that He was the Messiah. He may have felt that the Messianic category did not fit His self-consciousness ; or He may even have shrunk from Messiahship as unwelcome. But this suspense and indecision and inner conflict have to be read into the narratives. Jesus rather impresses us as one whose own mind was fully made up and whose way stretched plainly before Him. And if I have been right in arguing that the story of the Baptism and the Temptation may be trusted, then we must believe that Jesus left the Jordan and entered the wilderness with a certainty of His Messianic vocation so deep that no doubt could touch it. There is no need to hesitate about this, if the reserve of Jesus can be satisfactorily accounted for in another way than the assumption of His own uncertainty.

The usual explanation that He avoided the disclosure to the people because His conception of the Messiahship was so different from theirs seems to be adequate. He could not have proclaimed Himself as Messiah without evoking the popular enthusiasm which was in a very inflammable condition. Revolution against Rome might easily have broken out, and a life and death struggle might have been its inevitable sequel. In such a struggle Jesus could have had no share. His refusal to participate in it would have ruined all chance of winning the people for His cause ; and disillusion, especially if attended by military defeat, would have embittered them against Him. Nor could His purpose have been accomplished if He had explicitly declared that, though He was the Messiah, He was not the kind of Messiah they anticipated. This would have been practically equivalent in their eyes to a denial that He was the Messiah at all. They neither understood nor desired any other than the hero of their imperialist dreams. To make a claim so interpreted would have rendered them still more inaccessible to His message.

And this is true also of His reticence with His disciples. Had He disclosed the secret of His vocation, the associations which gathered about the title would have set them from the first on the wrong lines for understanding Him. If He desired to lead them to the conviction that He was the Messiah but to reinterpret the idea for them, the best way was taken. They became familiar with Himself, His ideals, His mode of action and His teaching. When the

time came for the Messiahship to be revealed, they could recognise, though even then with great difficulty, that Jesus was a Messiah other than the Messiah of national expectation. They could now control their interpretation of His vocation by their impression of His Person. They could see the doctrine in a new light because they read it through their knowledge of Him. And it was far better that Jesus should lead them through intimate familiarity with Him, though watching His actions and listening to His words to form their own judgment of Him, rather than by premature disclosure to force the truth upon them before they were ready for it, and when they would have inevitably misunderstood it.

II.

So far then I have sought to establish the fact that Jesus believed Himself to be the Messiah, without entering on the question what this consciousness really involved. We have seen that Jesus clearly recognised a deep divergence between His own and the traditional conception of the Messiah. In meeting His third temptation He definitely set aside the ideal of gaining the Empire of the world. To this renunciation He remained loyal throughout His ministry, and died because He would not disclaim His Messiahship or be untrue to His ideal. If we are to understand His vocation as He Himself interpreted it, we must widen the scope of our enquiry and investigate the other terms which He employed.

The title which most clearly expresses the definite Messianic idea is the title "Son of David." It is rather striking that it is infrequent in the Gospels. The genealogies in Matthew and Luke trace His descent through David. Paul lays stress on the fact that He was born of the seed of David and in this he follows the primitive Christian apologetic as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. Stress is also laid on it in the birth stories. Jesus does not repudiate the title when it is addressed to Him, but He does not use it with reference to Himself. In one passage indeed He is believed by many to controvert the idea expressed by it. On the Scribes' definition of the Messiah as the Son of David He comments with the question, How is this to be reconciled with the 110th Psalm? For if the Messiah is the Son of David, He is by that very fact David's inferior and yet David speaks of Him as his Lord. It does not necessarily follow that Jesus was conscious that He had no claim to Davidic descent,

or that he was depreciating the Davidic descent of the Messiah. It may quite well be that He wished to bring out that Davidic origin was not the full truth about the Messiah. He was David's son—Yes, but He was also David's Lord. In any case it was not the dominant element in His Messianic consciousness.

Of greater importance was the title "Son of God." In a general sense Jesus proclaimed the universal Fatherhood of God and this involved a corresponding universal sonship. His own religious experience was in His earlier years illustrated by His reply to Joseph and Mary when they found Him in the Temple, "Wist ye not that I must be in my Father's house?" But to this consciousness of a sonship which He shared with others there was added in His Baptism the consciousness of a unique relationship to God. He was the beloved Son in whom the Father was well pleased. The reference in the latter words is to the first of the Servant poems (Isa. xlii. 1). The title might be equivalent to Messiah. It is so used in the Gospels. An interesting case is to be found in (Luke iv. 41). The demons cry out to Jesus, 'Thou art the Son of God.' The evangelist continues "And rebuking them, he suffered them not to speak because they knew that he was the Christ." Matthew's version of the confession of Peter at Cæsarea Philippi runs, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God" (xvi. 16). At the trial the two terms are coupled together, the high priest puts the crucial question to Jesus in the form, "Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?" (Mark xiv. 61). Whether the term is limited to this in the stories of the Baptism and the Temptation is uncertain. It seems from the third temptation to have at least included His Messianic vocation, but we cannot be sure that it was restricted to this. We have a very remarkable passage (Matt. xi. 27; Luke x. 22) which seems to carry with it a more than Messianic consciousness, "All things have been delivered unto me of my Father: and no one knoweth the Son, save the Father; neither doth any know the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him." Here a uniqueness and intimacy of relationship is expressed which seems to transcend that which belonged to His Messianic vocation, and to involve a higher valuation of His Person than is expressed by the strictly Messianic titles. In this connexion we may remember the striking confession of ignorance which we find in the utterance on the time of the

Second Coming in which He places Himself in an ascending climax above men and angels alike.

The problems presented by the title Son of man are more difficult and complex than those presented by the other titles. In the Old Testament the term son of man is simply equivalent to 'man.' This is clear from the parallelism of the two terms. Thus Balaam says :—

> God is not a man, that he should lie;
> Neither the son of man, that he should repent.
> —(Num. xxiii. 19).

The Psalmist, overwhelmed by the majesty of the starry sky, expresses his wonder at God's care for a creature so insignificant as man and the dominion he has entrusted to him :—

> What is man, that thou art mindful of him?
> And the son of man that thou visitest him?
> —(Ps. viii. 4).

And this usage is in accordance with Hebrew idiom. In the Book of Ezekiel the prophet is constantly addressed by God as 'son of man.' The suggestion is that of human frailty, contrasted with the overwhelming glory and greatness of God. We might freely render it "Frail mortal" or "Child of earth."

More important for our purpose is the use of the term in Dan. vii. 13. The passage runs: "I saw in the night visions, and, behold, there came with the clouds of heaven one like unto a son of man, and he came even to the ancient of days, and they brought him near before him." The writer proceeds to describe his reign over all nations; "His dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed" (14). It is in this figure that the vision of the four beasts culminates. These are said to represent four kings; but really they are four empires, as is clear from vii. 23. This suggests that the 'one like unto a son of man' also represents an empire; though taken by itself the more natural interpretation would be that a personal figure is intended. The collective interpretation is confirmed by vii. 18, 22, 27, in which "the saints of the Most High," or "the people of the saints of the Most High" are those to whom the kingdom is finally given. The significance of the whole vision is accordingly this. The four successive empires of heathenism are symbolised by beasts, to

indicate that they are military powers, greedy and ferocious. To them succeeds the kingdom of the saints. This is symbolised by a man, to indicate its humane character in contrast to the brutality of the empires which had preceded it. The figure in Daniel is accordingly not to be interpreted as personal or identified with the Messiah. Israel is intended.

When, however, we turn to the section of the Book of Enoch known as the Similitudes (chs. xxxvii.-lxxi.), the Son of man is personal and stands for the Messiah. He is a pre-existent heavenly Being, the Righteous One, Divinely chosen for pre-eminence, gifted with power to reveal all the treasures of what is secret. Seated on the throne of glory He judges the kings and the mighty and slays all the sinners. He delivers the oppressors of the righteous to the angels of punishment; and though they appeal for mercy their repentance is in vain. It is probably not from Psalm viii. or from Ezekiel that the use of the title in the Gospels is derived, but from Daniel though with a sense transformed by the later development, so that in place of the collective people we have the personal Messiah.[1]

In the New Testament the title is used by Jesus alone, apart from Acts vii. 56 where the words of Stephen in his ecstasy echo, with a significant change, the words uttered by Jesus before the Sanhedrin (Mark xiv. 62, Luke xxii. 69). In the Gospels it occurs, according to Holtzmann's reckoning eighty-one times, sixty-nine in the Synoptists and twelve in John. The instances in John are not parallel to those in the Synoptists. The latter may be reduced to forty distinct utterances (so Driver); another estimate gives forty-two. It is, therefore, undeniably represented as a very characteristic expression on the lips of Jesus. It is not only significant that it occurs so frequently, but it is attested by all our sources. It is found in Mark and Q, in sections peculiar to Matthew and in sections peculiar to Luke, and finally in John. It is true that the number of instances on which we can rely is less than forty in the Synoptists. For in some cases

[1] It is possible, of course, that originally the figure of the Son of man may have been individual rather than collective, and that the collective significance, as we find it in Daniel, has been imposed on the original sense. There are features in the description in the Book of Daniel itself which do not suit Israel. See Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie* (1905), pp. 340-349; Feine, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, fourth edition, p. 60. But for our purpose it is unnecessary to discuss this.

the term may not be used in its technical but in a more general sense ; while in other cases, where one evangelist reports it, another does not include it in his version of the same utterance. It is also possible that where it is used in its technical sense, and the evangelists agree in recording it, it may have been absent from the actual utterance of Jesus. But any reasonable deduction on these lines still leaves us with a great mass of sayings which, so far as the grounds mentioned are concerned, leave no room for question.

Nevertheless, some scholars doubt or even deny that Jesus applied the title in its technical sense to Himself. The most serious objection to the authenticity of sayings in which it bears this specific sense as opposed to the general meaning ' man ' is the philological. Assuming that Jesus spoke Aramaic it is argued that the distinction between ' man ' and ' son of man ' which can be expressed in Greek is incapable of expression in Aramaic, since *Barnasha* is the term which would have to stand for both. In some cases the sense ' man ' can be fitted into sayings in the Gospels in which the term occurs ; but numerous sayings will not bear this interpretation. It might seem to follow that these sayings are not authentic, if Wellhausen's canon is to be accepted that whatever sayings attributed to Jesus are authentic must be capable of retranslation into Aramaic. We must, however, leave the possibility open that Jesus regularly employed the Hebrew term taken direct from the Old Testament, and presumably familiar to His hearers. This would not sound strange in an Aramaic discourse. That He used the Greek rendering would be credible only if the discourse was in Greek. Such solutions, however, while they ought to be recognised as possibilities, can hardly inspire any confidence.

But it is not necessary to infer that on this ground the sayings must be regarded as spurious. For a time Wellhausen believed that Jesus spoke of Himself as the ' Man,' though he recognised that this mode of self-designation was strange. After the publication of Lietzmann's discussion, he advanced to the position that Jesus never used the term with reference to Himself.[1] The point of the objection

[1] Wellhausen expressed his earlier view in the article on *Israel*, reprinted from the expanded German form in the English translation of his *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (1885). Speaking of Jesus as the firstborn of the Father he says : " He stands in this relation to God, not because His

is that in Aramaic the distinction between 'man' and 'Son of man' could not be expressed. This is intrinsically rather improbable; some way might surely be found of conveying in language a distinction which had been made in thought. And it is certainly nothing less than startling that Wellhausen came to the conclusion that the distinction *was* made by the Jerusalem Christians in Aramaic. In the second edition of his *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien* (1911) he closes his section on the Son of man with the words: "But that the Son of man gained its Messianic significance in Greek I doubt, although it was easier to distinguish it from 'man' in this language than in Aramaic. For this would involve too late a date and it does not follow from Mark ii. 10, 28. The Christians of Jerusalem will already have distinguished the specific Barnascha from the ordinary Barnarscha" (p. 130). This, however, implies that the distinction *could* be made in Aramaic; and if the primitive community could make and express it, there seems to be no insuperable objection to the belief that this step might have been already taken by Jesus, or even that He found it already made in the religious terminology of His time. Moreover it is difficult to doubt that the distinction was made in the Aramaic sources which lie behind the Gospels. It is remarkable that the writers distinguish so surely between 'man' and

nature is unique, but because He is man; He uses always and emphatically this general name of the race to designate His own person" (p. 511). This is repeated in his classical chapter "Das Evangelium" in his *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*, first edition, 1894 (p. 312). He adds an important footnote in which he argues on philological grounds that Jesus spoke of Himself as "The Man," though he recognised that this was an extremely peculiar mode of speech. This was repeated in the second edition, but in the third edition (p. 381) he broke with this view since he had come to the conclusion, previously drawn by Lietzmann, that Jesus never employed the term in place of the first personal pronoun, but that this mode of address had been attributed to Him by the redactors of the evangelic tradition. This was followed in 1899 by a very important discussion of the whole problem in the sixth part of his *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* (pp. 187-215), to which he added several pages in his preface (IV.-VIII.) handling Dalman without the gloves. With this should be taken his references in his commentaries on the Synoptic Gospels, but especially the discussions in his *Einleitung in die drei Ersten Evangelien* (first edition (1905), pp. 96 f., second edition (1911), pp. 95 f.). It should be observed that the second edition contains a great deal of additional matter including a special section on the Son of man (pp. 123-130) in which some of the matter already given in the *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* is reproduced.

'Son of man'; we may well ask whether they would have been so sure-footed, if their sources had left them to pick their own way. Lastly, it must be remembered that our knowledge of the actual language spoken by Jesus is imperfect, and that expert opinion as to the linguistic possibilities is by no means all on one side.

But however strong the philological objections may be, we have no right to settle the question on this ground alone. We must let other considerations have their weight; and these make it extremely difficult to deny the authenticity of all the sayings. This has, it is true, been denied, or gravely questioned on other grounds. Bousset in his *Kyrios Christos*[1] sets aside the philological argument and fully accepts the view that the technical significance was already attached to the term in Aramaic. He believes, in fact, that it was current in the primitive Aramaic-speaking Church of Jerusalem. But while he will not deny outright that Jesus ever applied the term to Himself and says that we can never attain complete certainty on the point, the whole drift of his discussion is directed to the reduction of genuine instances to the vanishing point. Partly this is done by wholesale elimination of passages in the secondary sources, partly by a process of critical attrition applied to the passages in the primary sources one by one.[2] It would not be possible in my space to follow his argument in detail; I am bound to say, with all the respect due to a scholar so learned and so stimulating, that the discussion impresses me as written by one who had to find reasons for a conclusion which he had reached largely on *a priori* grounds. It is accordingly not to be wondered at that so loyal an ally as Reitzenstein should break away from him at this critical point. He says in his recent work *Das Iranische Erlösungsmysterium* (1921) that, on Bousset's view, both the individual passages and the development as a whole appear to him a riddle (p. 117). He says later that it is quite intelligible to him that barnasha really was the self-designation of Jesus (pp. 118 f.). He reaffirms his belief that Jesus was conscious that He was the Son of man, and adds that without this self-consciousness neither His later activity nor the employment of the title would be intelligible (p. 130). And Edward Meyer in his very independent and stimulating work *Ursprung*

[1] Second edition, pp. 11 f.
[2] His discussion of the whole problem is to be found on pp. 5-22.

und Anfänge des Christentums (1921) emphatically asserts his conviction that Jesus applied to Himself the designation Son of man (ii. 345).

It is, in fact, difficult to conceive a case much stronger on its positive side than that for the application of the title to Himself by Jesus. The evidence that He used it, it has already been pointed out, is drawn from every one of our documentary sources. To deny with Bousset the validity of the philological objection, and yet to question the use of the title by Jesus is to fly in the face of all our testimony. And this consideration is reinforced by the total disappearance of the title (save in Acts vii. 56) in the whole of the New Testament literature apart from the utterances of Jesus Himself. Had it been a designation coined by His followers, the restriction of its use to utterances falsely attributed to Him, and the failure to employ it in their narratives about Him would be inexplicable. Its complete absence from the Epistles and probably from the Apocalypse is on the hypothesis of its later invention also surprising. Nor can any reasonable hypothesis be devised to explain the unwarranted introduction of this feature into the evangelic records and especially on such a scale. The only reasonable explanation of the facts is that the use of it by Jesus was so characteristic and familiar that in any record pretending to faithfulness it was impossible to ignore it; though the evidence of the early chapters of Acts suggests that it was not congenial to the Palestinian communities in which the evangelic tradition took shape.

The result then seems to be that general considerations make it almost incredible that Jesus should not have used the term in a specific sense as His own self-designation, while the philological objection, even if pressed to the full, does not interpose an absolute veto.

Assuming then that Jesus used the term in this way, what meaning did He put upon it?

In the first instance, at any rate, it is desirable to start from Mark's evidence. It is certainly remarkable that with two possible exceptions Jesus does not use the term in its specific sense till after the confession of Peter at Cæsarea Philippi. The exceptions are Mark ii. 10, 28. In ii. 28 the view that the Son of man simply means 'man' is plausible, though by no means certain. In ii. 10 it is less plausible although possible; still the people may have understood Jesus to mean this,

(cf. Matt. ix. 8).[1] In any case we have no certain instance of the specific sense in Mark before viii. 31. This follows immediately on Peter's confession of the Messiahship of Jesus. It is noteworthy that in our earliest source two only of the fourteen instances occur before Cæsarea Philippi. The twelve instances which remain are viii. 31, 38; ix. 9, 12, 31; x. 33, 45; xiii. 26; xiv. 21, 41, 62. The two leading ideas are the Passion and the return in glory, the former type of passages being considerably more numerous, though possibly the number ought to be reduced on the ground that predictions of the Passion have been duplicated. This, however, does not affect the main conclusion that these passages fall into two groups. There is no serious ground for suspecting their authenticity.

Further, the passages unmistakeably identify the Son of man with Jesus. The Passion group, with its prediction of betrayal, suffering, rejection, death, resurrection, unquestionably makes the identification. If viii. 31 and xiii. 26 stood alone, it would be possible to argue that Jesus did not identify Himself with the Son of man. He speaks quite objectively of the Son of man and in the same sentence speaks of Himself with the first personal pronoun: "Whosoever shall be ashamed of me . . . the Son of man also shall be ashamed of him" (viii. 38). The apparent distinction is noteworthy and needs explanation; but we ought not on the ground of it to infer that Jesus did not identify Himself with the Son of man. Quite apart from the identification in the Passion group of sayings, the same seems to be implied in xiv. 62. Here the answer to the high priest's challenge, "Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?" is "I am, and ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power and coming with the clouds of heaven." Here, again, we have the perplexing use of the Son of man alongside of the use of the first person singular. But it is difficult to resist the conclusion that in this context Jesus means to identify the two. He could scarcely in one breath have affirmed His identity with the Messiah and implied His distinction from the Son of

[1] On these two passages see in addition to the commentaries E. Meyer *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, i. 104; ii. 345. He finds Wellhausen's view that the term Son of man in these passages simply means 'man' incomprehensible. He thinks that in virtue of its mysterious esoteric character Jesus could, even before the confession of Peter, employ it without the disciples drawing the conclusion that He was the Messiah.

man. This is not to say that the Son of man is necessarily equivalent to Messiah ; but, if the ideas are distinct, Jesus was conscious that both were fulfilled in Him just as He was at once Messiah and Servant of Yahweh.

The previous history of the term in Daniel and Enoch accounts for those passages which represent Him as returning with the clouds of heaven ; but its connexion with the Passion is His own contribution.

The passages common only to Matthew and Luke are not numerous. They are Matt. viii. 20 = Luke ix. 58 ; Matt. xi. 19 = Luke vii. 34 ; Matt. xxiv. 27 = Luke xvii. 24 ; Matt. xxiv. 37 = Luke xvii. 26 ; Matt. xxiv. 44 = Luke xii. 40. The last three of these fall into the eschatological group ; while the first " The Son of man hath not where to lay his head " has some affinity with the Passion group though it does not belong to it. The second passage " The Son of man came eating and drinking " is remote from both groups. Yet through the comparison with John the Baptist an official suggestion is conveyed by the title. Jesus is not merely a prophet. The same applies to Matt. xii. 40, Luke xi. 30, where the Son of man is a sign, as Jonah was to the Ninevites. Both of these passages, as well as Matt. viii. 20, Luke ix. 58, identify Jesus with the Son of man.

There is one passage which belongs to all three Synoptists (Mark iii. 28 f., Matt. xii. 31 f., Luke xii. 10), though it occurs in Luke in a different connexion than in Mark and Matthew. On the other hand Matthew and Luke agree in introducing the Son of man, though Mark is without it. This is the well-known passage on the unpardonable sin. All agree in the statement that blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven. Matthew and Luke agree that whosoever speaks a word against the Son of man it shall be forgiven him. But this is absent from Mark. Instead of it, however, he says : " All their sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men and their blasphemies wherewith soever they shall blaspheme." This is a very interesting passage for the problem in literary criticism that it presents. But it is interesting for our purpose. At first sight Mark seems original. The ambiguous *barnasha* meant simply 'men' in this instance. The blasphemy against men is contrasted with blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, and this was really just the charge that Jesus cast out demons by demoniacal agency. Matthew and

Luke took the term to mean Son of man, and drew a contrast between Him and the Holy Spirit which was the opposite of what Jesus intended. Yet in favour of the originality of Matthew and Luke it may be urged that a Christian writer would not have treated blasphemy against the Son of man as less serious than blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, unless the words of Jesus had warranted the distinction.

Of the passages peculiar to Matthew, x. 23, xiii. 41, xix. 28, xxv. 31 are eschatological. xxvi. 2 is a Passion reference. In xvi. 13, "Who do men say that the Son of man is?" the title is almost certainly an insertion. Not only is it absent from the parallels in Mark and Luke; but its introduction here is most inappropriate. Otherwise the usage in these passages conforms closely to that common in Mark. In some other passages than xvi. 13 the term is inserted where the parallels omit it.

Of the passages peculiar to Luke, xii. 8, xvii. 30, xviii. 8, xxi. 36, are eschatological. xvii. 22 is akin to these. vi. 22 refers to persecution for the Son of man's sake, but the parallel in Matt. v. 11 has "for my sake." xix. 10, "The Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost," is, of course, not eschatological; but it also seems to have no connexion with the Passion. It expresses the sense of a mission, and is not unnaturally understood of His coming into the world.

In the Synoptic Gospels that class of passages which can be directly connected with Daniel and the later apocalyptic development may be taken as coming with full claim to authentici ; though individual sayings may have the term where it was not actually used. In this group the Son of man is represented as a heavenly being who sits at the right hand of Power, who comes on the clouds with the angels to be the judge of men.

But if we can assume that Jesus really predicted His suffering and death, there is full justification for believing that He connected the idea of the Son of man directly with His passion. He may have combined with it the idea of the Servant of Yahweh.[1] This would

[1] The Servant of Yahweh is the figure of the prophet and martyr depicted in the Servant passages in the Second Isaiah (Isa. xlii. 1-4, xlix. 1-6, l. 4-9, lii. 13-liii. 12). On the original significance of the figure it is not necessary to dwell; probably it stands originally for Israel regarded from the

be natural as soon as He had realised that He could come as Son of man on the clouds, only if He had first passed through suffering, death, and resurrection to the right hand of God. The Passion is thus taken into his vocation as Son of man. A title which had originally a purely eschatological reference, so far at least as manifestation on earth was concerned, received an extension backward into the earthly career of Jesus. This being so, we need not hesitate to recognise a still further extension, and to admit that Jesus used the term where neither the return in glory nor the Passion was in question. It has been held by several scholars that Jesus did not regard Himself as Messiah or Son of man during His earthly life. He believed that He was to be the Messiah, but was not so as yet. This, however, does violence to the documents. The confession of Peter at Cæsarea Philippi and Jesus' own confession at His trial, imply that He was already Messiah. If so, there is no insuperable objection to the view that Jesus, conscious of His present identity with the Son of man, should have used the term of Himself in connexions where neither the eschatological nor the Passion reference was involved.

Many have understood Jesus to mean by this title the representative man or the ideal man, the representative of the whole race, not merely of a nation. This is antecedently improbable on account of its abstract, philosophical character. Moreover it is difficult to believe that the term can be detached from Dan. vii. in view of the coincidence between it and the language of Jesus with reference to the

point of view of its function, its place in the Divine plan of God for the world. But the Servant is probably in any case to be sharply distinguished from the Messiah, and it is desirable not to speak of these passages as Messianic. The two lines of thought met in Jesus but it only leads to confusion, if the two in their pre-Christian development are not kept apart. In view of the immense importance which has been attached in Christian doctrine and apologetic to these passages, and above all to the fourth, it is very astonishing that they have left so little impression on the New Testament. Paul in particular makes practically no use of them. That they were early applied to Jesus is clear from the use of the term "Servant" to designate Him in the early chapters of the Acts, and from the incident of Philip and the Ethiopian. For the sake of the general reader it may be emphasised that the fourth passage begins with lii. 13, not with liii. 1. The arrangement in the Authorised Version is perhaps the most unfortunate example of incompetent division of chapters in the whole Bible.

Parousia. We are safest if we start from the eschatological associations of the phrase, and recognise that extensions of the meaning were given to it by Jesus in consequence of His conviction as to what the vocation involved ; while further extensions were due to the consciousness of His identity with the Son of man. Naturally those instances in which the title has special reference to the vocation come to us with the greatest presumption of authenticity. By this it is not meant that the sayings in which it is used without such reference are suspicious ; but that there is more probability that the term has been inserted when Jesus simply used the first personal pronoun.

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SOME CONFLICTING TENDENCIES IN ENGLISH ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY DURING THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.[1]

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ENTHUSIASTS for the Middle Ages have often said hard things about the fourteenth century. They have regarded it as a period of declension from the fuller embodiment of the mediæval ideal expressed in its predecessor. However such things may be from some points of view, yet in others there are counterbalancing considerations. In particular we may affirm with confidence that the fourteenth century comes nearer to us moderns in all that concerns the theory and attributes of the state. It is a time when the great states of Europe first recognized in the ideal of nationality a principle justifying their withdrawal from even a theoretical part in that universal monarchy of Christendom, which Dante strove in vain to preach to an indifferent world. Each national state tried to make its authority real by the development of an administrative system of ever-increasing complexity. That same Hundred Years War, which made nations of both France and England, involved special and continued efforts which were beyond the resources of the primitive feudal state. It followed that not only a modern nation, but the modern conception of the state began to emerge from these exertions. The political machinery of the fourteenth century became much more than a simple adaptation of the primitive royal household to the government of the body politic.

Not only had the state to enlarge its resources and finance wars,

[1] This paper is an expansion of a lecture delivered at the John Rylands Library on 14 Feb., 1923. The substance of it in a shortened form was read as a communication to the Fifth International Historical Conference at Brussels on 12 April following.

waged on a larger scale, and with greater continuity of effort, than had been the case with the superficial hostilities of the feudal age. Even in peace times the state acted upon a conception of its functions as wide as that of our own days. There were no Benthamites or Herbert Spencerians in the fourteenth century. If there was anything amiss in society, it was the business of the state to set it right. Mediæval polity was normally monarchical, but if the prince failed to accomplish his task, it was the duty of the magnates of the realm, his natural born councillors, to advise him or to coerce him to do his duty. The administrative result was not different in either case, for the state worked in the same way and through the same machinery, whether it were under monarchical or aristocratic control. Under either conditions there were great armies to be raised, organised and paid for, and a host of officials to be empowered to deal with the innumerable cases where state intervention was necessary. Despite wars, material prosperity followed economic development and raised questions which the state had perforce to grapple with. The state had to see that the profiteers did not charge excessive prices, or set an evil example by flaunting their jewels, furs and luxuries before poorer folk. The state had to see that workmen received reasonable wages, reasonable wages of course being those suggested by the traditions of the good old times. The state had to watch every market, punish monopolists, forestallers and regrattors. It had to see that weights and measures were honest and true, and it had to prevent clipped, false or debased coin from circulating. When the state had done its best to make people good by act of parliament, the church, a rival state within the state, watched with equal meticulousness over the orthodoxy and morals of the plain man. Like the state, the church had its courts to enforce its decisions, and an army of officials of both church and state scattered summonses and citations, admonitions and mandates over the land. Besides the central authorities there were local officers in every manor or franchise, borough or shire, guild or corporation, each vieing with the other in their efforts to govern. Altogether the plain man of the fourteenth century was a much ruled, much regulated man. It was well for his self-respect that the various jurisdictions, which competed to wield him to their will, lost some of their effectiveness because they came into conflict with each other, or because the force behind them was not always sufficient to enable them to carry out their wishes.

The rising tide of nationalism was beginning to threaten the common civilisation of the western world, but had not yet overflooded it. Accordingly any administrative tendency which we find accentuated in one particular country is still likely to have a general repercussion in its neighbour lands. The French and English monarchies, the *curia romana* in its exile on the banks of the Rhone, and many minor authorities were still dealing with analogous problems in not dissimilar ways. Of these efforts the movements in England have been the least investigated, though the materials for their study are extraordinarily complete. For the moment, however, the student of English administration has still to play the part of a pioneer. He has to cut his own paths through the trackless forest of a new world. He finds it hard to see the wood for the trees which obscure his vision. But he is powerfully tempted to clear his mind by attempting some sort of a general survey. The final judgment cannot yet be made, but even a rude sketch may make it easier for others to draw up the more accurate plan that may replace it.

By the fourteenth century English central administration was well under the control of the crown. The king governed the country. He had, of course, to take advice, but the consultative bodies, whether the permanent council of officials, the occasional great councils of magnates or the representative parliaments of barons, prelates and commons, were not executive in a direct sense. They advised the king what to do, but effective action could only be taken by the monarch, whose sealed writs, embodying his commands, were issued by the ministries which were his executive agents. England had since the twelfth century enjoyed the best bureaucracy at the disposal of any secular prince. But its very perfection caused the administrative machine to become less entirely at the disposal of the monarch. Institutions that had arisen out of the primitive household had already begun to go "out of court" and to think as much of the traditions and rules of the office as of the immediate interests of their master. This was notably the case with the exchequer, the English equivalent to the continental chamber, and was becoming also the case with the great administrative office of the chancery. Official precedents were made the most of by the dignified prelates at the head of these departments. Such ministers found themselves more in sympathy with the baronage than with the court, for the baronage was the natural

antagonist of monarchical pretension. Thus the routine, devised to restrain the aristocracy, grew into a check on the arbitrary power of the crown. The king still had a remedy for this within his own household. The household still retained within itself secretarial and financial departments which could both supplement and check the operations of the chancery and exchequer. The administrative centre of the household in England was now the king's wardrobe, whose secretariat was the privy seal. The wardrobe controlled the whole revenue and expenditure of the court, like the *camera denariorum* of the French monarchy. The result was a duplication of administrative machinery, which was all the more efficient since chancery and wardrobe, exchequer and chamber, constantly overlapped, each being regarded as almost equally competent within the whole administrative sphere.

This distinction between the household of the sovereign and the national offices of state is the most fundamental of the conflicting tendencies which I am attempting to emphasise in the field of fourteenth-century administration. Yet we must not overstress the contrast between them, and still less must we assume that either crown or magnates was clearly conscious of any such opposition. To both crown and barons household and state remained identical, and the household and political offices seemed but different aspects of one administration. A weak king, like Henry III., might seek to reduce the chancery and exchequer to dependence on himself as direct as was the subservience of the household staff to its master. A strong king, like Edward I., might secure a vigorous and united ministry by the combination of the household and national offices in a single whole. Edward I. certainly saw in the king's wardrobe the best school of loyal statesmanship and the department most easily expansible to meet the exceptional calls upon the resources of the state, which the over-ambitious enterprises of his later life had involved him in, obligations almost beyond his strength. He waged his wars and directed his foreign policy mainly through the agency of his household officers.

The baronial opposition to Edward I.'s later policy renewed the outcry, already begun under Henry III., against household administration. The same complaint arose from time to time all through the fourteenth century. The wardrobe was checked by the demand that all revenue should be paid into the exchequer: the privy seal of the household by the emphasis laid upon the rights of the great seal of the

chancellor. Under a feeble king, like Edward II., the opposition strove in the ordinances of 1311 to bring household and national offices equally under its control. The ordainers succeeded to a large extent in subjecting to their authority the old strongholds of household administration. But the resources of the courtiers were not yet exhausted. The king's chamber was expanded and developed, after the fashion of France, to form a self-sufficing household department, freed from baronial and official control, untrammelled by precedent, and capable of adaptation to all new emergencies. The chamber secretariat with the secret seal comes into prominence, as soon as the wardrobe and privy seal had been annexed by the barons. By the device of reserving manors to the king's chamber a new royal domain arose, outside the control of the exchequer and securing for the monarch a personal revenue and sphere of untrammelled action. Later in the reign the restored power of the crown, after the fall of the contrariants in 1322, restricted the scope of the chamber action. It was originally intended that the huge forfeitures of the "contrariant barons" should be administered by the king's chamber alone. But it was one of the first acts of Bishop Stapeldon's noteworthy treasurership that he transferred the rule of this great estate to the exchequer and so prevented the chamber from becoming a formidable rival to the exchequer. That he was permitted to do this suggests that Edward II. and the Despensers were so satisfied with their position that they were content to go back to the unitary administration of Edward I. They felt no need then to aim at emphasizing the rights of the household offices. The noteworthy reform of the exchequer itself by Stapeldon made this venerable office more competent to discharge its ever-increasing task. Consequential on the Stepeldon reforms was the reorganisation of the wardrobe and household. From this followed the splitting up of the household administration into various departments, each separately accounting at the exchequer. The result of this process was to facilitate the tendency to transfer the directive power from the household to the ancient offices of state.

It followed from all this that the later years of the reign of Edward II. was a period of great and radical administrative reform. But fourteenth-century Englishmen had no love of revolution, and clung to the fixed conception that the ancient constitution gave them all that was necessary, and that any changes to be introduced were rather in the

direction of the removal of administrative abuses than designed to change the framework of political organization. The personal aims of the radical reformers about the court were enough to discredit the changes for which they were responsible. When in the revolution of 1326 Edward II. lost his throne and his life the radical changes were violently swept away. There was partial compensation for this in the survival of the departmental reforms which ensured some measure of permanence to Stapeldon's work. But it is significant of the drift of opinion that Stapeldon, the cautious administrative reformer, lost his life at the hands of the mob as surely as the Despensers perished by the condemnation of the baronage.

The revolution of 1326 was inspired by the conservative traditions of the ordainers. It aimed at putting the state under the control of the barons rather than the courtiers. It was symbolized in the restoration of Henry of Lancaster to the earldoms of his martyred brother, Earl Thomas, and giving him, at least nominally, the highest position in the councils of the young Edward III. For the Lancastrian tradition, which had inspired the ordainers, still exercised great influence. It was not only the pretext for the revolution of 1326. The excuse for the revolution of 1330 was that the followers of Mortimer had deserted the ways of the ordainers. The king's emancipation was not, however, exclusively a Lancastrian movement. Like the revolution of 1326, it was brought about by a coalition between the old opposition and the personal followers that the young king had gathered round him. After Edward's triumph both elements had to be respected, and the policy of the next eight or ten years shows a careful balancing between the barons and the courtiers. At first the former were most to the fore. With the Earl of Lancaster as his most powerful ally, with the great administrative family of the Stratfords holding in turn the chief offices of state, the young king had every inducement to follow their conservative policy. But he seems gradually to have resented their tutelage and his real aim seems to have been to shake himself as free from it as he dared. Anyhow, it is clear, after a few years, that Edward was gradually feeling his way towards a revival of the personal policy of his father and the Despensers. The chief evidence of this is the revival of the "administrative chamber" as it had been in the days of Edward II. Again there were manors reserved to the chamber, whose business was so important that a special

seal, the griffin seal, was established for transactions relating to them. A whole hierarchy of officers, local and central, safeguarded this new jurisdiction. The chamber estates with their justices and escheators, their stewards and their auditors, formed new royal franchises, virtually outside the ordinary system that was controlled by chancery and exchequer. The receivers of the chamber became the most energetic and pushful of the king's ministers ; the secret seal, kept in the chamber, almost ousted the privy seal as the expression of the king's personal wishes. The receivers extended their claims so far that they refused to render their accounts to the exchequer. If they accounted at all, it was to the king in person, and if the king were satisfied no one else had any right to say anything. When receiver Hatfield tendered his account to the chamber, the king accepted it and caused his rolls and memoranda to be burnt that they might not again come into demand. Mandates based on this remarkable statement were sent both to the exchequer and wardrobe. If the wardrobe still meekly sent in its bills to the exchequer, the newly furbished instrument of prerogative recognized no such limitation to its authority. The same period saw a steady enhancement of the dignity and power of the keeper of the privy seal, and the promotion of more than one receiver of the chamber to this office shows that Edward again regarded it as a confidential secretariat. Under Edward II. the keeper of the privy seal had been a subordinate to the keeper of the wardrobe. Now keepers of the wardrobe received promotion when they were made keepers of the privy seal. The hierarchy of office was clearly privy seal, chamber, wardrobe. If household control were to be revived, it would be household control of a somewhat novel type.

The years which witnessed the resurrection of the chamber were filled with other administrative experiments, experiments in the adjustment of the escheatries and the staple, and in the direction of providing local justices under royal commission who were soon to assume the title of justices of the peace. In every direction there was some increase of bureaucratic control ; considerable increase in the quality and numbers of the members of the bureaucracy. Before these processes had gone very far the outbreak of war on an unprecedented scale of magnitude and duration put to the trial all the resources of the state.

A mediæval state was hardly able to carry on adequately in

periods of such peace as the chronic disorders of the times allowed. The cry that the king should "live of his own," though continually in the mouth of parliaments was never, even in peace time, practical politics. Any long continued extraordinary expenditure of money and effort was destructive to the whole machine of state. When ambition led Edward III. to attempt the conquest first of Scotland and then of France, times of trial arose which soon tested to the full his administrative system. It is a proof of the unchangeableness of the mediæval mind that Edward III. aspired to carry through costly war-like expeditions very much in the same way as his grandfather had done. If special machinery were needed for war conditions, it was to be found in the utilization and expansion of the household system on which Edward I. had relied. The recent developments of the household system thus served a useful purpose, and Edward III. was at least better prepared to face the situation than his grandfather had been. The wardrobe once again becomes important when its knights and troopers swell into the dimensions of a great corps of household troops, when its clerks turn tax-gatherers, negotiators of loans and treaties, paymasters of soldiers, sailors, and foreign allies, keepers of army and navy lists and the rest. The king's household servants were regarded as competent to discharge any odd job that had to be done. The chamber was easily expansible in a similar fashion; its operations were secret, untrammelled by precedent and entirely under royal direction. The great wardrobe was already a storage and army clothing department whence the armies in the field, whether at home or overseas, could be supplied. There had also arisen a new localized branch of the wardrobe system in the king's privy wardrobe of the Tower of London; which was now to be of the utmost value as a place for the manufacture, assemblement, storage and distribution of all manner of arms and artillery. It was now becoming an independent office, but it only gradually rose to that position, and was in its earlier history an offshoot, partly of the great wardrobe and partly of the chamber. How important these offices were in the first years of the war is to be seen from the fact that we derive from the records of the great and privy wardrobes and the chamber the earliest information that we have as to the beginnings of firearms and gunpowder.

In 1338 Edward III. betook himself to the Netherlands and remained abroad, with one short interval, until the latter part of 1340.

His plan to carry on the war while providing for the government of England in his absence was to divide his administration into two sections, one of which followed him abroad, and so far as practicable, attended him on his wanderings, while the other remained at home, charged not only with the daily administration, but with the raising of men and money for the war. The chancery, almost entirely, and the exchequer altogether stayed at home, and the chancellor and treasurer formed the heads of the council of regency, which ruled in the name of the little Duke of Cornwall. The privy seal and its office, enforced by a few chancery clerks, attended the king with its keeper, Kilsby. Kilsby, the most daring and enterprising of Edward's ministers, had, as receiver of the chamber, already done great things in the financial preparations for the war. But with Kilsby went the great seal, so that the king might upon occasion issue solemn as well as current letters, and the officer thus doubly empowered was so much the king's chancellor for practical purposes, that Kilsby is himself actually described as chancellor in documents issued in the Netherlands. The whole wardrobe went with the king: the great wardrobe moved from London to Antwerp, and the chamber, though divided, like the chancery, sent its best men abroad. The heads of all these offices formed, with the military magnates in the field, the king's council beyond sea, on whose advice the king was to rely just as the regent was guided by the council in London. It was a well thought-out scheme of division, and on the face of things there is no reason why it should not have worked.

There were fundamental difficulties which soon wrecked this plan of a dual ministry. Edward naturally expected to have the last word, and on the eve of his departure drafted the ordinance of Walton, a law whose importance has not been properly recognized, though it has been accessible in print for nearly two hundred years in Rymer's *Fœdera*. The Walton ordinance laid down that the chancery and exchequer at home should be strictly controlled by the king and his ministers abroad, and put this ultimate control under the direction of the king's chamber and privy seal. The special significance of the ordinance of Walton is in this frank exposition of a curialist policy, for the first time since the heyday of the Despensers. Now the ministry with the king was substantially the ministry of the courtiers, the household servants, whose one principle was to carry out the king's pleasure,

along with those barons, who, whatever their general line of policy might be, were so intent on the successful prosecution of the war, that they threw in their lot with the king's household servants. Contrariwise the ministry in England was controlled by the experienced officials brought up in the baronial traditions of the house of Lancaster. Naturally friction at once set up between two such different bodies. Edward had rushed abroad in such a hurry that he had not waited to levy the extraordinary taxes and the grants of wool which had been voted him for his enterprise. The ministry at home, mainly under the direction of the Stratfords, showed remissness in providing the king with funds, so that Edward could not satisfy the insatiable demands of his allies, and still less lead his own forces on an invasion of France. The king was thus reduced to helplessness, and was soon compelled to abandon the Walton policy. He made Stratford president of the Council, and gave him a free hand in ruling England. A liberal grant was made in return for these concessions, but the supplies were to be raised by special receivers out of all relation to the ordinary administration. But Edward's surrender was not sweetened by obtaining the support for which he had sacrificed everything. Compelled at last to abandon the campaign in despair, the king rushed over to England in November, 1340, intent at all costs on wreaking revenge on the traitors.

A contemporary chronicler, Robert of Avesbury, shrewdly describes the contest which followed as one between the king's *secretarii*, or confidants, and the ministers serving in the great offices of state. It was a plan, cleverly organized by William Kilsby, to transfer to the household followers of the crown the control of the public administration. It was within Edward's power to dismiss the ministers, and mete out imprisonment and penalties to the most guilty. The cry was raised that clerks who could not be tried in the king's courts were unworthy to be king's ministers, and a lay chancellor and treasurer were put into office. But Archbishop Stratford took sanctuary in his cathedral at Canterbury, and posed as a martyr in political sermons wherein he shrewdly combined the cause of the church with the cause of the constitution. The headstrong violence of the courtiers overshot the mark. When parliament met at Easter prelates, barons and commons rallied to the archbishop's cause. Edward had refused to summon the archbishop to parliament. An earl of ancient family expostulated indignantly with him. "Sir king," he cried, "how goes

this parliament? Parliaments were not wont to be like this. For here those who should be foremost are shut out, while men of lowly rank take their places." Thereupon the courtiers, with Kilsby at their head, quietly got up and abandoned their seats without saying a word. In this silent renunciation the courtiers abandoned the struggle. The archbishop came back; the "hereditary peerage" came into being as the solidest protection of the nation against prerogative; household administration had tried its best and failed.

The victorious parliament imposed hard terms on the king, terms so hard that he plucked up courage to refuse the most galling. As soon as the lords and commons had gone home he solemnly revoked his chief concessions, declaring that he had dissembled in order to obtain supplies for carrying on the national war. Two years later, another parliament condoned the king's arbitrary action by repealing the laws he had refused to carry out. For several years Edward's lay ministers continued in office, but their doings were in no way different from those of their clerical predecessors, and by 1345 the old system was fully restored. Thus the great crisis worked itself out. Its history remains of unique value to us because it emphasizes the contrast between household and public administration as nothing else does. It is in fact the one occasion on which there was a clear cut conflict between the two bodies. We have seen that it ended without a decided victory to either side. The stolid conservatism of fourteenth-century England frustrated in turn both the attempts of the king to ride roughshod over the constitution and the efforts of the magnates to set up a premature Whig oligarchy to which the king was to stand in the position of a doge. Neither undiluted household administration nor thoroughgoing baronial control were found in practice to be possible. The monarchy and the baronage had to live on side by side. The household officers became more conservative and prudent; the ministers of state took up an attitude hardly distinguishable from theirs. Edward realized that if he wanted to fight the French he had to keep the fighting and wealth-producing classes on his side. As a result the "double cabinet" passes out of mind, and some sort of unity of administration under the national king was restored.

The cessation of domestic conflict is well illustrated by the long tenure of power of bishop Edington of Winchester. First brought into prominence as the receiver of the ninth of 1340, Edington worked

his way through the king's wardrobe to the offices of treasurer and chancellor in succession. He remained a prominent officer of the crown continuously from 1340 to 1362, when increasing infirmities forbade his further continuance in power. He foreshadows the late mediæval type of political ecclesiastic which was later illustrated by his successors in the see of Winchester, Wykeham, Beaufort and Waynflete. For us he is especially important as indicating the gradual breaking down of the line that had at one time differentiated ministers of state and ministers of the court. Promotion from the household to the political offices had always been frequent; but it now became more than ever a matter of course, and the change of status had little effect on the policy of the promoted official. Happy results generally followed from the increasing unity of purpose among the servants of the crown. From our special point of view, it becomes increasingly easy to isolate administration from politics and study it by itself.

It was during Edington's long treasureship that a great blow was given to the system of household administration which was embodied in the revived chamber of the early thirties. This organization had acquired increased usefulness from the war, and an accession to its revenues from the proposed transference to it of the custody of the alien priories. But just as in 1322 with the contrariants lands, so with the alien priories in 1337, the original intention was never fully carried out. After the failure of prerogative in 1341, the chamber ceased to have much expansive power, though the reservation to it of lands continued until about the end of 1355. There is no evidence that there were any complaints against the system on the part of the public; but there is a continuous record of the hostility of the exchequer to its official rival. It may well be believed that the chamber had not fulfilled the hopes of its founders, that it was expensive to work, that it added little to the king's personal control of affairs, that it intensified departmental rivalry, and that it was simply an additional complication in an already somewhat elaborate and overlapping machinery. The appropriation to special collectors of war revenue had prevented it ever exercising a very wide activity, and the heightening of parliamentary control had rendered it comparatively useless. But the clear point is that, in 1356, as in 1322 and 1327, the chamber's worst enemy was the exchequer and that it was when a specially strong treasurer was in office that the *coup de grace* was given. This was contained in a

writ of 21 Jan., 1356, in which the king instructed treasurer Edington and his subordinates that all lands, tenements and other things previously reserved to the king's chamber should be reunited to the king's exchequer. The stewards and auditors of the chamber met this writ with prompt obedience, and all that they had now to do was to straighten out their accounts with the exchequer and disappear from history. With the chamber of lands went the griffin seal. All that remained of the chamber was the chamberlain's department of the household, subsidized by exchequer grants, devoted to the private and personal wants of the crown. The administrative chamber was so dead that even Richard II. never thought to revive it.

The expansion of the household for war purposes had not proved a great success. The parliamentary control over war expenditure tended in the long run to restrict the wardrobe of the household and also the great and privy wardrobes. A united administration was better for war purposes than a divided one, and there was no loss of efficiency in this restriction of household government and the restoration of chancery and exchequer to their old predominance. Yet the capacity of the household system to send out fresh offshoots was not yet exhausted. The griffin seal had disappeared but the secret seal of the chamber, kept in the custody of a chamber clerk, still remained available. It was wanted the more since in the latter days of Edward III. the privy seal had become absolutely officialized. It was already entirely gone "out of court," so that its officers received their pay from the exchequer and not from the wardrobe. Its head was well able to give independent advice to the king as was the chancellor or the treasurer. Accordingly, the future of household administration is now bound up with the secret seal. This stamp, after a period of diversified experiments, becomes permanently known as the king's *signet*. A new secretarial department arose out of the court for its custody, and an office of the signet with a staff of clerks was slowly evolved. The chief of these officers becomes gradually known as the *king's secretary*. Thus the word secretary, hitherto vaguely used in the sense of confidant, acquires for the first time an official sense. There are faint suggestions of this in the latter years of Edward III., and all through Richard II.'s reign the succession of the king's secretaries can be traced. In origin the private secretary of the king, the drafter, sealer and custodian of the monarch's private correspondence,

the secretary was soon to follow the course that had already been followed by the chancellor and keeper of the privy seal. He was to grow into the position of a secretary of state, a public minister. From the king's secretaryship arose in modern times the chief departmental ministries. With curious conservatism, the secretaries still keep the title which they first received when they were the king's private clerks. The seals of office, which they receive and resign on entering on and abandoning their posts, still represent the signets which the secretaries of Richard II. once kept for their master.

However much we may stress the future importance of the secretariat, we must recognize that soon after the middle of the century the antagonism of the rival ministries of household and state had for most purposes disappeared. The conditions which had emphasized such rivalry in 1340-41, and earlier at the chief turning points of the reign of Edward II. had now ceased to exist. This antagonism was based not only upon the eternal conflict between the court and the baronage, but on the circumstance of the ministries of state representing the baronial policy rather than that of the king. After the collapse of high prerogative in the early forties, the conflict of court and baronage had almost ceased to exist. Edward I. had bullied and coerced the magnates; Edward II. had kept aloof from them and given all his confidence to his favourites and household servants. All through his reign, Edward III. lived with his great nobles on friendly and cordial terms. They shared the same social life and were possessed by similar ambitions. The gracious geniality which was one of Edward III.'s strongest points attracted the nobles to his person and the easy-going opportunism, which sacrificed far policy to the interests of the moment, made it a simple thing for Edward to lavish on his nobles privileges and immunities which conciliated them for the time though it furnished their successors with weapons that made it possible for their descendants to challenge the authority of Edward's weak successors. Above all, the king and nobles had a common cause in the conduct of the great war against France. They were alike eager for military glory, for foreign conquest and the material spoils of war. To Edward the war was so much the primary object of his thoughts that he cheerfully bartered away his authority not only to the aristocracy but to the commons whose control of additional taxation made them to an increasing extent the ultimate arbiters of national policy. Under such

conditions it is hard to trace any clear continuance of the ancient struggle between court and magnates as had so long been conspicuous in early times. As a result of this the "two ministries" became blended in a harmonious whole. Any pressure of royal or baronial influence on the official class was applied equally to the ministers of the household and the ministers of state. The very distinction between those groups lost its meaning.

So long as Edward III. continued strong and active these conditions continued to prevail. Even after 1360, when the treaties of Bretigny and Calais put an end for the time to the French war, there was still little symptom of the renewal of strife between crown and aristocracy. For one thing the peace was always nominal rather than real, and there was plenty of fighting in Brittany, in Normandy and in Spain to afford occupation for a martial royal house and an equally militant baronage. For another the formal peace was of short duration and in 1369 war broke out again. But by this time Edward III. had lost the extraordinary vitality of his youth and prime. Broken in health, infirm of purpose, absorbed in personal pleasures and incurious of the details of administration, the king had no longer the spirit to fight the barons, even if he had the wish to do so. A strong king, like Edward I., or a king with strong and bold advisers, like Edward II. in the days of the Despensers, or Edward III. in the days of Kilsby, was the essential element for such a conflict. With the decline of the physical energy of Edward III. we enter into a period of weak monarchy which outlasted the fourteenth century. With weak monarchy came the revival of aristocratic faction, and the chief political conflict for the rest of our period is the struggle of rival baronial parties. Only at certain periods of the reign of Richard II. was there any definite issue between the crown and the aristocracy.

On two occasions in the later part of Edward III.'s reign there is a suggestion that the conditions of 1340-41 were being renewed. These occasions were in 1371 and 1376. In the former year the barons and commons successfully petitioned the king to surpersede by laymen the clerical holders of the offices of chancellor, treasurer and keeper of the privy seal, as well as of other great offices. But the analogy between the two situations is very incomplete. The anti-clerical movement of 1371 was not, I believe, more than in appearance anti-clerical, and it made no distinction between the household and the official posts.

Moreover, the commons in 1371 made no attack on the crown and no distinction between the ministers of the household and the ministers of state. They repudiated any attempt to nominate ministers, being content to indicate to the king the type of minister which they preferred. Indeed it is probable that the king himself secretly sympathized with the parliamentary critics of his ministers. Even the anti-clerical cry was but a mask for the real issue, which was, I venture to think, the conduct of the war. In fact it was in essentials an effort of a warlike coterie of nobles to remove ministers suspected of not throwing their whole strength into the vigorous prosecution of the war. Beyond this no general administrative question was involved.

Five years later came the last crisis of the reign—the crisis that attended the session of the Good Parliament of 1376. Here important constitutional issues were raised, and the representatives of the Commons made their influence felt as it had never been felt before. Yet even in 1376 parliament had few proposals of a revolutionary character as regards the administration. Again it refused to nominate ministers and if it ultimately insisted on the appointment of a standing council, its object was to help the dying king by saving him from dishonest advisers and securing purity of administration. It left the chief ministers as it found them and was content with punishing individual offenders. It is true that the chief of these, Lord Latimer, was chamberlain and worked through agents closely connected with the chamber. But there is little evidence that there was any attempt to revive the chamber as such and thus restore direct household government. The king had become a negligible factor and John of Gaunt was only feeling his way to a policy of his own. There is even less suggestion than in 1371 of the old contrast between the two administrations. What was really important was the revival of aristocratic factions that resulted from the incompetence of the king. It was only after parliament ended that John of Gaunt closely identified himself with the scandalous camarilla of which Latimer was the chief. Undoubtedly John undid the work of the Good Parliament in the summer and autumn of 1376, and undoubtedly he used as his instrument a revived court party that might well have chosen to act through household channels. Yet his first and only success was in attuning the parliament of 1377 to his will. But John's triumph was short-lived and before the old king's death a revival of the aristocratic-clerical opposition, strongly supported by the

Londoners. Before the old king died the Duke of Lancaster had lost his paramount position in politics. A court leader was no true successor to the martyred Earl Thomas.

The reign of Richard II. is from our special point of view simply a continuation of the later years of Edward III. The minority of a boy king was even more favourable to the development of antagonistic factions among the magnates than the senility of his grandfather. This struggle of aristocratic factions is the chief domestic trouble for the rest of the fourteenth century. It is, however, diversified by a distinct revival of household administration as the king grew older, a movement illustrated by the growth of the secretariat and the increased use of the king's signet. It was, however, effectively checked by the Lords Appellant and it was only in 1397, when Richard made his bold attempt at despotism that the conditions of 1341 were renewed. But a more complete triumph than Edward III. had ever obtained was followed within three years by the deposition of the autocrat. From the Lancastrian revolution arose a permanent baronial control over administration that rendered futile any attempt to set up an interior royal cabinet of confidants against the accredited ministers of state. Household administration, though it had failed as a general control, remained useful in a limited sphere and was still the source of new administrative experiments. The one strong Lancastrian king, Henry V., waged war in France through his household machinery much as Edward III. had done in his earlier years. When, nearly two generations later, Edward IV. and the early Tudors once more restored the monarchy on a solid basis, they exercised much of their power through a revival of household administration.

It is more than time to abandon this attempt to trace chronologically the struggle of the conflicting tendencies of offices of the household and the offices of state during the later fourteenth century. It has, however, incidentally brought out some other analogous lines of contrast and comparison with which we may now proceed briefly to deal. One has already been touched upon, the conflict of lay and clerical ministries. This is apparent in 1340-41 and in 1371, and to some extent all through the reign of Richard II. But it is easy to make too much of it, as I suspect both Stubbs and Maitland did. Kilsby, who raised the cry in 1340, was a cleric who was striving hard to be an archbishop, and there was an element of insincerity in an agitation so equi-

vocally represented. In 1371 the anti-clerical cry was but a pretex for getting rid of experienced ministers who had shown some lack of energy in the conduct of the renewed French War. In either case the courtiers did not object to clerks because of their clergy; their only complaint was that the immunity of the clergy from the civil courts made it very difficult for the king to execute, imprison or deprive of his property anyone enjoying the privileges of the clerical order. There was never any objection to the lower staffs of the government offices being reserved to clerks. Both after 1340 and after 1371 lay chancellors ran their offices through an exclusively clerical staff of clerks of the chancery. Similarly the lay keeper of the privy seal, after 1371, had to work through a purely clerical staff of subordinates. The exchequer, and the exchequer only, remained up to the end of the century the office on which laymen and clergy met together on equal terms. But by that period we have laymen gradually coming into their own. Nevertheless, the government of England remained largely, we may say mainly, in clerical hands until the Reformation.

We must not be over anxious to see a sort of incipient anti-clericalism in this laicising movement. It is rather due to the spread of education in lay society. By the fourteenth century there had grown up at least two types of lay education that owed nothing to the clerical universities. There was the education of the court which could produce a lay man of the wide cultivation of a Geoffrey Chaucer, himself a representative of the lay official type. Above all these was the growth of schools of the common law in London, which resulted from the demand for a practical training in the common law of the realm, as administered in the courts, for which the universities, which only recognized civil and canon law, made no provision. The result was that, while under Edward I. a large proportion of common lawyers were ecclesiastics, the clerical common lawyer and the clerical judge became almost obsolete in the course of the reign of Edward III. When the commons of 1371 petitioned that the clerk of the privy seal should be a layman, they were officially giving the wider significance to the term clerk with which we moderns are more familiar. In fact a clerk not in holy orders had only one great privilege, the enjoyment of "benefit of clergy," and that immunity the educated layman was henceforth to share with him. The conflict of layman and clerk was much more in evidence in the still abiding antagonism of church and state than in

the struggle between the lay and clerical servants of the state for office and emoluments. Nobody now believes that Philip the Fair laid low the power of the papacy when he hounded Boniface VIII. to his death and, in effect, transferred the Roman court from Italy to Avignon where it soon became largely officered by Frenchmen. Never was the Roman court more active than during this period, and all over Christendom the clerically trained lawyer of the universities found both a legal and an administrative career in every bishopric and archdeaconry as well as in the service of the state. The modern historian has made much of the mediæval conflicts between church and state : but it is possible to overstress them. The ecclesiastical and lay jurisdictions were not engaged in perpetual struggles with each other. Such disputes were the exception rather than the rule. A broad survey suggests that normally the two powers worked together with a fair amount of harmony in the common task of governing an unruly and rebellious generation. In this general acceptance by each side of its rival's position we see the explanation of the paradox that the Avignon papacy, though bending to some extent before the nationalist storm in its dealings with the kings of France and of England, imposed its administrative system over all Christendom in a way that the great popes of earlier times have never aspired to do.

The development of administration meant centralisation of power under a single ruler. But the mediæval prince lived a life of perpetual wandering, and so long as he ruled his realm through his household, the central authority itinerated with the monarch. As the machine of state became more complex, it became increasingly difficult for the administrative machine to follow the court from place to place. There arose accordingly the need of a capital, of a fixed abiding place for the government offices. The natural place for this localisation of government was in the chief city of the land, and London was even more clearly the chief city of England than Paris was the chief city of France. Accordingly by the days of Henry II. the exchequer found a permanent home at Westminster, and the Great Charter by providing that the common bench should have a fixed seat, secured its normal establishment also at Westminster. But when the principal ambition of the English kings became the subjugation of Scotland, York was a more convenient centre for the offices of state than the great city of the south. From the time of Edward I. to the outbreak of the Hundred

Years War the chief departments were constantly removed to York, as, for instance, between 1333 and 1338. Their long absence plunged Westminster into dire poverty. But relief came after 1338 when the exchequer and the common bench, and with them councils and parliaments, went back to Westminster, which for the future became their permanent abode. Even the chancery, though still partly itinerant, had now its normal "place" in Westminster Hall, while its officials and records were often located on the western verge of the city. Other offices established themselves in the Tower, where the king's chamber, privy wardrobe, mint and exchanges now had their headquarters. After 1340 the great wardrobe established its permanent home within the city itself.

Another conflicting tendency was that between the local and central administrations. While the central authority was all vested in the crown, the local agents of the sovereign were everywhere hampered by seigniorial, municipal, ecclesiastical and corporate immunities. The ancient local government had largely been in the hands of the shire and hundred courts, which stood in the faintest relations to the monarchy and had become, in effect, controlled by the magnates of the district. Not only did the great franchises break up administrative unity : a widespread minor immunity such as "return of writs" forbade the direct execution of royal orders by the normal agents of the crown in a large part of the land. Worse than all, the traditional local mouthpieces of the royal will, the sheriffs, escheators, coroners, and their like, were in practice no seneschals or prefects, creatures of the central state, but local potentates more amenable to the feeling of their neighbourhood than to the wishes of their master. Moreover, the justice administered in the local courts was become old-fashioned, stiff and arbitrary.

Edward III. took full advantage of the decay of the local courts to increase the control of the central power over every part of his realm. His greatest success was in the consolidation of the office of justice of the peace. The justices of the peace were royal servants, appointed by the king's commission and empowered to do for the lower ranges of jurisdiction what the judges of assize had long done for its higher aspects. Like the sheriffs, they were not meant to represent local interests but the interests of the crown. The original commissions were issued to a strictly limited number of persons, appointed to act in a particular shire. In most instances the commission was headed by a

magnate of the shire and a few carefully selected colleagues, chosen for their experience, substance, and legal knowledge. In short, the original justices of the peace were neither the numerous, the unskilled, nor the unpaid justices that more recent history is familiar with. Nor were their functions purely judicial but included from the beginning an administrative element, so that the justices of a shire in their quarter sessions were gradually to replace the old shire moot as the administrative authority of the county. Another organisation of the same type arose in the commissions appointed under the statute of labourers to carry out the order that wages and prices should both be maintained at the level at which they had been before the Black Death of 1348-1349. It is often said that mediæval laws were recognitions of an ideal rather than enactments designed to be executed. But the fact that an American scholar can set forth in a large volume the detailed efforts made within the first decade after its enactment to carry out the statute of labourers shows that no effort was spared in this case to make the law effective. After 1359 the commissions of the peace and of labourers were combined in the same hands, so that the resultant authority had very full administrative powers.

Nor were these the only measures to strengthen the local execution of the law. The vexed problem of the correct sphere of the escheators' functions was settled in the early forties by making the escheatorship coterminous with the sheriffdom. Other encroachments on local freedom—especially in the economic sphere—were illustrated by the growth of the staple system. Repeated experience had shown that a single staple abroad secured an undesirable monopoly for the foreigner, while unlimited freedom of export imposed obstacles in the way of collecting the king's customs revenue which were unthinkable in a period of constant war. A final settlement so far as England was concerned was effected in 1353 when the Ordinance of the Staple set up ten privileged towns in England and others in Wales and Ireland, whence alone export of staple commodities could be made. From that year a staple corporation, nominated by the crown, watched over the market at each staple town and provided machinery for controlling commerce, raising revenue and attracting the specie of the foreigners who came to buy English wool or tin.

Thus from several points of view, the crown accroached to itself jurisdiction over the local authorities. But in the long run its gain

appeared much less than might have been expected. It is true that the crown succeeded in defeating the popular demand for the election of sheriffs in the shire courts, and that the commons' demand that justices of the peace should be appointed in parliament by the representatives of the shires concerned was never accepted. But indirectly the local landlords became the agents of the royal authority. The sheriffs, appointed annually, became typical local gentry: the royal justices of the peace became in fact the organs of local landed opinion; the staple organization became absorbed by the municipalities and strengthened the already great advances otherwise made by the towns towards local autonomy. If there were from one point of view a strong tendency towards monarchical centralization, the necessity of the crown acting through agents, whose interests were more local than national, wrested from the king most of the fruits of his new efforts. There was a central bureaucracy, but not a local one. Receiving the king's commission, and transacting the king's business when not employed on his own affairs, did not deflect the local agent of the crown from remaining mainly mindful of the local point of view. The local corporation or magnate who received the king's mandate to act for him soon regarded it as a matter of indifference that his authority was based upon a royal commission. The king might give, but he could seldom take away a gift once given. The hard conditions of the times forced upon Edward III. to undo with one hand what he was fastening up with the other. The constant exigencies of war and finance, and a certain rashness and irresponsibility of temper forced him in practice to adopt a shallow opportunism which prevents us claiming for him other general policy than an intelligent pursuit of his own personal interests.

It follows that we have to consider another of the conflicting administrative tendencies of the time. Parallel with the movement towards strengthening the central state, there was a long series of grants of concessions and franchises to the magnates that sometimes rivalled the concessions to the aristocracy made by the early Valois kings of France. Early in the reign Archbishop Stratford had suggested to the king the subtle policy of conciliating the magnates by extraordinary grants. Though Edward afterwards reproached Stratford for this traitorous advice, he did not fail to carry it out. New sheriffdoms for life or fee were made until the commons' complaints stopped the practice.

But the ranks of the higher aristocracy were steadily depleted by death and the union of the hitherto distinct families, and the result was to increase the individual influence of the chief survivors. The union of the houses of Fitzalans and Warenne is a case in point. The immense power that was gradually bestowed on the house of Lancaster is a still more conspicuous instance of the same tendency. At last in 1351, Henry, Earl of Lancaster, was created Duke of Lancaster for life, and his newly made duchy became permanent when his daughter brought it as her wedding portion to Edward III.'s favourite son, John of Gaunt. In 1376 the duchy was fully equipped as a palatine jurisdiction, with a chancellor and justices of its own, and with all other royal rights "as truly as the Earl of Chester is known to have them in Cheshire." From that time the lands of the Duke of Lancaster become as much an exception to the ordinary law as the lands of the heir apparent in Cheshire, Cornwall and Wales. Such grants were not to be excused by their limitation to the king's near kinsmen, for the earlier history of the house of Lancaster had shown that the king's closest relatives were the natural leaders of the opposition. The policy was the more fatal since every great territorial magnate was now striving to bind together his scattered estates under a single administrative system, through which he hoped to do for them what the king was trying to do for the kingdom at large. For the moment such a concentration of power might make it easier for the Black Prince or the Duke of Lancaster to raise armies to fight the French and to finance them to some extent from their own resources. The whole history of the fifteenth century shows that the ultimate result of the policy was a growth of faction and a weakness of the central power that reduced the fifteenth century monarchy to a level that prevented it maintaining order and peace in a land split up by rival aristocratic feuds. When, in earlier times, the barons had combined against the king, in later years they made rival claims to the crown a pretext for fighting each other.

The organization of the domains of the Black Prince and of the dukes of Lancaster have not yet been studied with sufficient thoroughness to make it safe to form facile generalizations about them. But it is interesting to note how their methods were parallel to those of the crown, and how they aspired to have a single organization, centring in some cases in London, rather than to establish themselves firmly in

some one district and strive to shut it off from the realm. There was the Prince of Wales' wardrobe in London, and the Duke of Lancaster's wardrobe in the Savoy Palace in the Strand, a palace which excited the wonder of contemporaries who declared that there was nothing else like it in England. Such things are significant of the attraction which was centralizing even the aristocracy in London rather than in their country castles. But the chief examples of aristocratic centralization were those of members of the royal family, and such estates were eminently liable to be absorbed in the crown. This was the case with the duchy of Lancaster when John of Gaunt's son became King Henry IV. This was the case even with non-royal agglomerations, when the estates of ancient houses were acquired by marriage for younger sons of the royal house. Thus, Henry of Bolingbroke and Thomas of Woodstock divided the lands of the Bohuns, and the transmission of the enormous Mortimer estates in Wales and its March to the male line of the most impecunious of the sons of Edward III. made it possible for the house of York to dethrone the house of Lancaster. Thus we have more than a suggestion of a British counterpart of the "regional nationalities" which in France and the Empire were borrowing the methods of monarchical centralization to deprive the monarchy of its power. At least we have in our island a more perfect instance of this tendency than even Brittany or Flanders. Scotland attained within a generation the independence which Brittany lost and which Flanders only won slowly and imperfectly.

Such were the conflicting tendencies manifested in the history of administration in fourteenth-century England. Household offices and national offices of state, lay and clerical administration, central concentration under the crown supplemented by local centralization in a fixed capital, the subjection of feudal franchises to the central authority and the constant creation of new immunities that broke up the unitary ideal of strong monarchy, the supersession of local courts responsible to the localities by officials appointed by the crown, the growth of municipal independence increasingly unrelated to the government of the districts in which the towns were imbedded, all these and many other things also may be studied side by side. Even in stating these contrasts we must not over emphasize them. Nothing works out to its logical result, and one tendency is successfully counteracted by another. The historian who would state all these things too clearly is always exposed to a

double danger. In avoiding the Scylla of hasty generalization, he is always liable to fall into the Charybdis of a mass of incoherent detail. If he states his case in too broad terms, he may well read modern ideas into mediæval conditions. If he prudently abstains from more than a statement of the detail that he knows, he is denounced for indulging in mere antiquarianism. He can only do his best to swim through a sea, where alternate currents drive him now in this direction now in another. He may perhaps console himself, if he turns from the past to the present, by reflecting that even the civilized world of to-day is beset with contradictory tendencies equally incoherent.

THE AUTHORISATION OF CHANCERY WRITS UNDER EDWARD III.

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THE great state chanceries of England and France in the fourteenth century had many points in common, and M. Morel's systematic study of the French chancery during that period[1] is rich in suggestion with regard to the organisation of our own contemporary office of the great seal. One interesting point of comparison is offered by his description of the various notes and signatures appended to letters issued from the French chancery.[2] These, he says, were separate from, and in addition to, the actual letter and its accompanying seal; but they served as additional means of authenticating the letter, and as a means of control for the chancellor, or perhaps for the king. Morel groups them all together under the name of *mentions*. One mention consisted of the signature of the chancery notary who had drawn up the letter. The signature was necessary before the letter was valid; and naturally the notary was careful not to sign his name on any letter that he thought was not in order. Moreover it was a rule of chancery that only a specially qualified notary, a "notary and secretary" could write and sign a letter that had been commanded by the king.[3] And similarly, after 1372, only a chancery notary who was a "secretary of finance" could draw up and sign a letter that was concerned with finance.[4] A second mention serving a similar purpose, was the *mention du service*, a note recording the officer or office that had ordered the letter from chancery. As frequent royal commands had defined the letters each officer could

[1] Octave Morel. *La Grande Chancellerie Royale*, 1328-1400 (1900). Besides the suggestions I found in M. Morel's book I would like to acknowledge the debt I owe in this article to much advice and generous help from Professor Tout.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 154-191. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 54, 67. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

order, the chancellor knew exactly what mention to expect on any letter brought by a notary to be sealed; and he could tell at a glance if the letter was likely to be in order. The mention served also, of course, to make the office that had asked for the writ partly responsible for its issue. Still a third mention consisted of the signature of one or two councillors on letters that had been ordered by the council. This, like the two previous mentions, was made on the *repli* of the parchment—the strip folded up along the bottom. In this case the mention occurred either on the left or on the right side of the seal. If it was on the left, it meant that the councillor had approved of the letter before it went to be sealed; if on the right, that he had sanctioned the letter after sealing, presumably in the absence of the chancellor.[1]

The mentions, so far, were all intended primarily to signify to the chancellor that the letter was regarded as authentic by all the officers who between them had brought it to be sealed. A final mention was added by the chancellor himself who, when he had approved of the letter, wrote "visa" on the repli and himself resumed the final responsibility for its issue.[2] There could be little doubt of the authenticity of a letter guaranteed by so many different testimonies, and what perhaps served primarily for the use of the office of chancery became additional proof of validity to the world at large. But the great seal which was then affixed, provided the essential mark of royal authority. It is interesting to notice, however, that even then some letters were not regarded as sufficiently authentic. Towards the end of the fourteenth century it became the custom in France to signify the king's especial sanction for those containing grants (*lettres de don*) by affixing to them not only the great seal of the realm, but also the signet seal, the personal and private seal of the king.[3]

Thus in France there was a logical control on the issue of writs from chancery, chiefly by means of the mentions described above. Can we say the same of the English chancery in the fourteenth century? It is reasonable to suppose that checks of some sort were as necessary in England as in France: but it is perhaps natural that in England they should take a different form. In France administration was very highly centralised; and important letters from every depart-

[1] Octave Morel. *La Grande Chancellerie Royale*, 1328-1400 (1900), pp. 168, 169, 234.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 178, 179.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 276.

ment had to be issued through the chancery and under the great seal. The officers of the various departments did not themselves draw up these letters. That was done by notaries who attended from chancery each morning, to find out what letters were required, and then retired to their own homes to prepare the letters for the great seal. It was not until 1370 that a special room was provided near the chancellor's office where this could be done.[2] The chancellor had no knowledge of most of the letters or of the orders that had been received for them, until they came to him to be sealed. Hence he attached the greatest importance to the mentions that both proved the authenticity of the letters, and shifted some of the responsibility for their issue. In England, on the other hand, the various departments of state were to a large extent independent of chancery for secretarial work. If they desired the issue of letters under the great seal, they asked for them by writs or bills under their own departmental seals. The chancery clerks, working on the chancery premises, had to construct from these requests, letters in the traditional form of their office to be issued under the great seal. They usually copied the requests almost word for word. The latter provided a double check on the letters brought to the chancellor to be sealed; and moreover they were preserved in chancery as the justification for the acts that were issued. In the series of these original requests, or warrants as they are now called, both king and chancellor had a means of control on the issue of letters, that did not exist in France. Thus mentions were never employed as extensively for this purpose in the English as they were in the French chancery.

In a restricted sense the "mention" had its place in the English chancery. There were three kinds frequently used in the reign of Edward III. The first and most important corresponded to the *mention du service*. It referred to the officer or office that had commanded the writ; but also,—and in this it differed from the French mention,—it frequently referred only to the document that had contained the original command.[2] The second mention consisted of the name of the chancery clerk who had prepared the letter for the great

[1] Octave Morel. *La Grande Chancellerie Royale*, 1328-1400 (1900), p. 116.

[2] E.g. "By writ of privy seal."
"By bill of the treasurer."
"By bill of the keeper of the wardrobe."

seal. Both these mentions were on the front of the writ. The third was on the back or on the *repli*, and referred to the chancellor or some leading chancery clerk who was finally responsible for the writ being prepared. But the three mentions only occurred on the same writ in very exceptional circumstances: many writs only had one of them; and some none at all. The exact use that was made of mentions in England has never yet been described. The chancery was the only department of administration that used them in the first half of the fourteenth century. And even in the chancery no lasting regulations for the practice before the reign of Richard II. have survived.

Have we any reason for believing then that in Edward III.'s reign mentions of service were anything more than convenient but unimportant memoranda by the chancery clerks? It must be confessed that there are very few contemporary references to their use, though the system of original warrants, to which the mentions of service generally referred, was certainly known to almost every department of administration. There are, however, one or two references that seem to throw light on the official attitude towards these warrants in the reign of Edward III. In 1330 a certain Geoffrey Cotes complained to the king that Henry Burghersh, bishop of Lincoln, chancellor during the recent minority, had wrongfully prevented him from obtaining possession of a church to which he had been presented by the king.[1] The chancellor had done this by a writ of great seal, authorised by a privy seal warrant.[2] But Cotes claimed that this particular warrant was no excuse for Burgersh, because the latter had had such power over the privy seal that he could obtain what writs he liked under it.[3] Cotes challenged the value of a warrant obtained under such circumstances; but it is evident that he recognised fully its great importance under normal conditions.

[1] *Rot. Parl.*, II., 45.

[2] *Ibid.*, II., 46, prints the writ, summarised in *C.P.R.*, 1327-30, p. 315. The original presentation to Cotes is in *Ibid.*, p. 123, dated February 6th, 1327. Early in 1328 the Parliament of Northampton had ordered the chancellor and keeper of the privy seal not to revoke the writ because of the counter claim of a papal provisor. *Rot. Parl.*, II., 45.

[3] *Ibid.*, 46. Cotes said "qe Lettre de garante de Prive Seal le Roi ne peut excuser le dit Evesq. . . . desicome il meisines poait commander estre fait lettres de Prive Seale tieles q'il vodra."

In 1338 the king himself, in the Ordinances of Walton[1] attempted to impose on both chancery and exchequer a complete system of warrants, by the privy seal or by the council in England, for all important acts dealing with the revenue. He was on the eve of his first departure to the Netherlands, and he attempted to tighten his control on the departments of state left in England, and at the same time to ensure that the financing of the war with France should be the first consideration of those who had the disposal of the national revenue. By the spring of 1340 his scheme, which never showed many vigorous signs of life, had completely broken down; the state departments had resumed all their old independence and power; and warrants were again used much as they had been in the past. But the Ordinances of Walton at least showed that the administrative mind of the period was quite familiar with the use of warrants as a means of control on the issue of writs. The councillors of the king in 1338 differed from Cotes in 1330 merely in their point of view. He was looking at the warrant as a justification for the chancellor before the king: they were regarding it as a means of control for the king on the chancellor.

Later still, whilst the king was absent on his short visit to Flanders in 1345, the prior and convent of St. Swithuns, Winchester, obtained from the council in England, permission to elect a bishop to succeed Adam Orlton.[2] A license to elect was accordingly issued from chancery on July 22nd, in the name of Lionel, keeper of England. But John Offord, the chancellor, considered that a warrant from Lionel himself was necessary for such an act, and this was not immediately forthcoming. So to save time he noted on the license a mention "by letter of the keeper," and issued it to John Ford, the delegate from St. Swithuns, with strict orders that it was not to go to the prior until the actual warrant for it had been received in chancery. Unfortunately, before the warrant was received, Edward III. returned suddenly to England. The letter of license became invalid; not so much, apparently, because it was issued in the keeper's name,—others were similarly issued after July 22nd,—but because, when the king was in England, Lionel could no longer provide the warrant which was noted in the mention. The chancellor immediately cancelled the

[1] *Fœdera*, II., 1049, 1050.
[2] *C.P.R.*, 1343-5, p. 526, July 22nd, Southwick.

license; but then it was discovered that Ford had disobeyed orders and had sent it to his prior, and the prior further complicated matters by foolishly attempting to act on the license which had been cancelled.[1] The result was that three days later both he and Ford were called before the king for contempt and deceit: the latter was sent to the Tower:[2] legal proceedings were taken against the prior and convent; and the matter was only dropped when St. Swithuns atoned for its fault by paying a fine of 2000 marks.[3] It is especially interesting to notice that, according to a writ issued by the chancellor on July 29th, the council had approved of the license of July 22nd, before it was issued. Thus, not only had the chancellor regarded himself as unable to issue the license without an authorisation, but he had apparently not considered the council's approval sufficient, and had required for his act a warrant from the keeper of the realm himself. The case of St. Swithuns seems to establish clearly that both king and chancellor regarded the use of warrants as an essential part of the routine of chancery, and one that could not lightly be tampered with.

Warrants received in chancery survive in immense numbers in the Public Record Office, notably in the files of "Chancery Warrants under the Great Seal." They mostly consisted, in Edward III.'s reign, of writs and bills under the privy seal; but there were also among them letters under the secret and the "Griffin" seals, two seals of the royal chamber; and they also included bills from such officers as the treasurer of the exchequer, the treasurer or keeper of the king's wardrobe, the king's butler, the queen's treasurer, from the Prince of Wales, and from magnates serving in the army. The privy seal writs were concerned with many kinds of public business; but the other small seals were generally concerned only with the more personal affairs of the king, except on a few occasions in the absence of the privy seal. The warrants from the treasurer were concerned only with national finance such as the collection of subsidies or customs, or the payment of wages;[4] those from the butler were concerned only with the appointment of his deputies or the collection of his customs on wine;[5] those from the magnates in the army with the issue of

[1] *C.C.R.*, 1343-6, p. 590, July 29th. *C.P.R.*, 1343-5, pp. 580, 581.
[2] *C.C.R.*, 1343-6, p. 604.
[3] *C.P.R.*, 1343-5, pp. 580-1; *Ibid.*, 1345-8, pp. 141, 207, 541.
[4] Chancery Warrants, files 1549, 1550, 1663, etc.
[5] *Ibid.*, file 1644.

writs of protection for their followers.[1] Other officials also, evidently provided warrants only for those letters directly concerned with the business of their office. It seems then that not only were warrants considered important, but they were used to some extent in the same systematic way as *mentions du service* in France.

Did the mention of service in England represent actually the warrants that were received by chancery? Both Edward III. in 1338, and John Offord in 1345, had attached great importance to the record of the warrant, both on the letters issued from chancery and in the chancery rolls. The rolls contained abridged copies of all important letters issued under the great seal, and with them the mentions of service. These were the only mentions considered sufficiently important to be recorded. I have traced in the calendars of chancery rolls published by the Record Office, the copies of 64 letters which had resulted directly from privy seal warrants received in Chancery during February and March, 1341.[2] On 60 of those letters the mention was "by privy seal." On two it was "by king and council."[3] But on both of these the date was earlier than that on the corresponding privy seal warrant.[4] We cannot discuss here the vexed question of the dating of chancery writs. In this case the most reasonable explanation seems to be that the letters were issued from chancery under the direction of the king and council, and that afterwards another warrant was sent for them under the privy seal. The mentions of service were probably true records of the authorisations actually received for the issue of the letters. The remaining two letters had no mention of service. But they also were dated before the privy seal warrants that were received for them.[5] The wording of one showed clearly that it had come from the king and council; and the privy seal warrant began with a statement to that effect. This letter also had evidently been authorised first by king and council and then by privy seal; but the chancery clerk had perhaps considered that its origin was plain enough without a mention of service. There was only one letter on which no original warrant at all was indicated;

[1] Chancery Warrants, file 1730, etc. [2] *Ibid.*, Series 1, File 273.
[3] *C.P.R.*, 1340-3, pp. 149-150; *C.C.R.*, 1341-3, p. 11.
[4] Chancery Warrants, 1/273/13743, 13712.
[5] *Ibid.*, 1/273/13785, 13792; *C.C.R.*, 1341-3, p. 23; *C.P.R.*, 1340-3, pp. 150, 161.

and even that I shall attempt to explain at a later stage.[1] Meanwhile, however, we may reasonably conclude that, except in rare cases,[2] warrants received in chancery were faithfully recorded in the mentions of service.

It is possible even that the mentions also recorded warrants of a purely verbal nature. In Edward I.'s reign [3] there are suggestions that verbal authorisations were recorded in the chancery rolls. Under Edward II., Mr. J. C. Davies has stated, "The verbal order was used extensively as the warrant for chancery writs."[4] In Edward III.'s reign mentions of service such as, "by council and testimony of Will de Hugate clerk,"[5] "by witness of the butler," "by testimony of Raymond himself,"[6] "by testimony of John himself,"[7] and "by consideration of the whole council,"[8] seem to have recorded verbal processes. Some warrants provided by the king and council, we have seen, were probably supplemented later by writs of privy seal. Occasionally mentions were "by king and council and by privy seal."[9] In these cases the privy seal writs may have provided the written authorisations for the acts. In any case even the enormous numbers of privy seal warrants cannot have supplied such authorisations for all chancery letters issued with the mentions "by privy seal," "by king," "by king and council," and "by the council," for which practically no other written warrants have been preserved. It seems probable that

[1] See p. 126, note 4.

[2] J. C. Davies, *Baronial Opposition to Edward II.*, p. 166, n. 7.

[3] There were mentions such as "Willelmus le Latimer nunciavit per Regem" (*C.P.R.*, 1281-92, p. 426): "Cancellarius mandavit de Rothelan nunciante J. de Bruges" (*Ibid.*, p. 54): "G. de Asphale brought the information" (*C.C.R.*, 1279-88, p. 327): "On the information of Master W. de Luda" (*Ibid.*, p. 333): "On the information of Hugh de Kendale" (*Ibid.*, p. 428): "By the chancellor, on the information [of] H. de Kendale" (*Ibid.*, p. 428). Cf. also, H. Hall: *Formula Book of Diplomatic Documents*, pp. 70-71.

[4] J. C. Davies, *Baronial Opposition to Edward II.*, p. 166; cf. also 167, 169, 171. He also prints a privy seal to the chancellor prohibiting a commission of enquiry until the chancellor receives directions by word of mouth,—"sanz especial mandement de nostre bouche."

[5] *C.P.R.*, 1345-8, p. 419.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1340-3, pp. 174, 174, 289 (*bis*).

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 177.

[8] *C.C.R.*, 1343-5, p. 306.

[9] *Cal. Fine Rolls*, V., p. 230; *C.P.R.*, 1340-3, pp. 263, 368. Perhaps this is also the explanation of the extensive use of privy seal writs as warrants for charters. *Cal. Charter Rolls*, V., pp. 1-9 and *passim*.

some of these last mentions must have referred to verbal orders. They served the same purpose as corresponding mentions in France. They did not merely refer to a written warrant preserved in the chancery files: they were the only evidence the chancellor possessed of authority he had received for acting. Thus mentions of service, not only recorded the written warrants: they also supplemented them; and were themselves a more accurate and complete record of the authorisations received for the issue of letters.

I have considered it worth while, therefore, to examine in detail the mentions of service on a number of letters issued under the great seal. Many of these were returned into chancery by the officers to whom they had been issued. Others were preserved by the exchequer as warrants for payments; and the exchequer also preserved a number which had been tendered by various administrative officials with their accounts, as warrants for their acts. All these are accessible in the Public Record Office; and give a certain variety of writs for examination. But the great mass of original letters are scattered in different parts of the country and are not so easily available. In order to examine a much greater number of mentions, therefore, I have had resource to the calendars of chancery rolls. I have ascertained by a comparison with collections of unabridged copies of the enrolled writs, such as Rymer's *Fœdera*, and the *Lords Reports on the Dignity of a Peer* (Appendix 3 and 4), that the Record Office Calendarers scrupulously copied mentions of service that occurred on the rolls; I had already ascertained that in 1341 at least original warrants were faithfully noted in the rolls by the chancery clerks. A third source of evidence on the use of these mentions—that of copies of original letters existing in print in different collections, I used very little, as I found it impossible always to be sure that no mention existed where none was copied out.[1]

[1] E.g., A writ to Thos. Charlton, bishop of Hereford in 1335, printed in his register with no mention of service. *Register T. Charlton* (Canterbury & York Soc.), p. 59. In the rolls of chancery there was a mention "by king." *Fœdera*, II., 2, 913; *C.C.R.*, 1333-7, p. 510. Similarly in *Register J. Trillek*, (Canterbury & York Soc.), pp. 12-13, 336; cf. *Lords Reports on the Dignity of a Peer*, IV., 551, 591. On the other hand Ralph Baldok, bishop of London, who had been chancellor, copied a mention of service into his register as early as the reign of Edward II. (*Register R. Baldok* Canterbury & York Soc., pp. 154-5), and in Richard II.'s reign J. Gilbert, bishop of Hereford, who was not connected

For the year 1341 then, I grouped together letters with the same mention of service in the calendars of charter, patent, close, and fine rolls, in the Scottish rolls[1] and in Rymer's *Fœdera*, the last two of which largely consist of copies from all the various chancery rolls. It was apparent immediately, as in the case of the original warrants in the chancery files, that administrative officials had only authorised letters directly concerned with their own work.[2] But there were also broad differences in the letters that were used with other mentions. The most important letters were those with mention of the king or the king and council. Perhaps, of these, the more solemn and formal were those "by king and council." They included particularly orders to important officers abroad and letters patent relating to foreign affairs,[3] proclamations and general orders of a weighty kind to local officers at home,[4] some important grants or concessions of privilege,[5] and many letters summoning people to parliament or to council.[6] The letters, with mention "by the king," were more numerous, and concerned nearly every kind of business. They particularly contained important orders to every kind of official at home and abroad, important grants,[7] appointments, especially those of sheriffs and escheators,[8] judicial commissions and pardons by the king's grace. The letters with mention "by privy seal," were equally varied. They contained many appointments and grants, the latter including solemn charters,[9]

with the chancery, also copied a mention of service. *Register J. Gilbert* (Canterbury & York Soc., p. 38, 1380).

[1] In the *Rotuli Scotiæ* (Record Commission) the writs enrolled are printed in full.

[2] E.g., Letters issued by warrants from the king's butler. *C.P.R.*, 1340-3, pp. 174 (*bis*), 289 (*bis*). Letters by warrant from the keeper of the wardrobe. *Ibid.*, pp. 260, 265, 266, 267. By bill of the treasurer. *Ibid.*, pp. 255, 265, 266, 287, 289, 292, 302, 316, 317.

[3] *Fœdera*, II., 1144, 1145, 1146, 1149: and *passim*. *Rot. Scotiæ*, I. 605, 610, 611, 612, 613: and *passim*.

[4] *C.C.R.*, 1341-3, pp. 243, 278, 349-50, 367, 368, etc. *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 70-71, 145, 247, 316, 364, etc.

[5] *C.P.R.*, 1340-3, pp. 257-8, 261, 263, 268, 350.

[6] *Report Dignity Peer*, IV., 498, 505, 507, 546, 587, 590, 542, 543, 548, etc.

[7] *C.P.R.*, 1340-3, pp. 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 270, etc.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 226, 252, 253, 257. *Cal. Fine Rolls*, V., pp. 199-256: and *passim*.

[9] *C.P.R.*, 1340-3, pp. 254, 255, 271, 292, 299, 332, etc. *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 81, etc. There were 80 grants made in the patent

many orders to administrative officers, and pardons for crime. But they also contained, as opposed to those "by king" and "by king and council," great numbers of letters to the two great receivers of the subsidy of a ninth, directing the expenditure of money,[1] letters of ratification,[2] license to enfeoff or alienate land,[3] exemptions from duties,[4] pardons for acquiring land, and directions to escheators to restore land to heirs on the performance of homage.[5] And on the other hand, they contained few orders to officers abroad or solemn public announcements in England, very few containing the appointments of important officers such as justices, escheators or sheriffs, and none summoning members to parliament or council. They differed from letters in the first two groups firstly in that they seldom contained solemn and public business, and secondly in that they were often concerned with the routine work of administration that could not be allowed to take up the time of either king or king and council. The last two groups of letters differed still more. They consisted of those with mention "by the council," and those with no mention at all; and they were almost altogether concerned with routine work. Those without mention especially were exceedingly numerous; and as they presented the greatest problem with regard to the use of authorisations in the issue of chancery writs I decided to examine them at greater length.

I divided all the letters issued in 1341 into seven rough groups according to their contents. The first group consisted of writs of appointments. These were almost invariably based on some authority, as notably the appointments of sheriffs and escheators. Letters without mention, however, appointed a justice of the common bench, and

roll, by authorisation of the privy seal, in the course of the year. There were 53 presentations to livings in the church. *Ibid.*, pp. 82, 119, 126, 127, 146, 149, 162, 179, 192, etc. See also *Cal. Charter Roll*, V., pp. 1-9, and note 9, p. 114.

[1] *C.C.R.*, 1341-3, pp. 17, 18, 21, 22, 32, etc. There were more than 250 orders of the kind in the course of the year, besides orders to the receiver of money reserved for the war with Scotland (*Rot. Scotiæ*, I., 606, 608) and to other officials collecting the revenue. *C.C.R.*, 1341-3, pp. 22, 26, 27, 46, 155, 286, 288, 294, etc.

[2] *C.P.R.*, 1340-3, pp. 77, 83, 151, 173, 194, etc.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 81, 145, 165, 183, etc. There were about 50 of these letters, including also permission to crenellate buildings, to enclose land, etc.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 171, 172, 174, 175, etc. There were 32 of these in the patent roll.

[5] *Cal. Fine Roll*, V., 210, 215, 216, 225, etc.

numerous judicial commissions ;[1] they appointed also two controllers of customs ;[2] and frequently ordered the sheriffs to proceed to the election of coroners and verderers of the forest.[3]

The second group included all letters concerned with finance. The few grants issued in 1341 without mention of service were all of a trivial nature, and in some cases had been plainly purchased by the fines paid for them.[4] There were a number of letters issued without mention, assigning wool to various individuals. But they were based on a special enactment of parliament,—generally referred to in the letter,—which specially ordered wool to be assigned to those who had contributed towards a former grant of 20,000 sacks which had since been superseded.[5] And there were a number of letters issued without mention containing merely promises to pay money.[6]

In this second group I also included letters ordering officials to make or supersede payments. Among these also a considerable number were issued without mention of service. There were letters to the exchequer, ordering payment of arrears or of expenses, or repeating a previous order, or directing the treasurer to supersede a demand for payments or accounts.[7] There were a few sent to the receivers and collectors of the various subsidies, but the number was small in comparison with those authorised by privy seal warrants Two of them were sent to the two great receivers of the north, one in favour of a king's clerk engaged on diplomatic service, the other to

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1341-3, p. 333. *Ibid.*, pp. 201, 203, 204, 206, etc. There were 60 of these: and one (p. 217) 'by the chancellor.'

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 129, 232. There were also two special commissions, to receive wool and to procure the release of wool. *Ibid.*, pp. 164, 285.

[3] *C.C.R.*, 1341-3, pp. 2, 14, 28, 69, 70, 76, etc.

[4] *C.P.R.*, 1340-3, pp. 145, 149, 163, 168, 201, 332, 347. The only important exception was a concession to the city of London. *Ibid.*, p. 225.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 148, 191 (*bis*), 195, 239, 240. The only other assignment was for wages and arrears of annuity "as appears by bills and memoranda of the exchequer" *Ibid.*, p. 269.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 139, 223, 230, 231, 245, 349, 350.

[7] Payment of arrears and expenses. *C.C.R.*, 1341-3, pp. 317, 172, 50, 238: p. 311, with a previous order to the same effect, p. 88. Allowance for expenses, and for money paid out by the king's orders. *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 66, 71, 92, 155, 162, 172, 191, 198, 280, 306, 310. To supersede a demand for payment or accounts. *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 71, 80, 81, 85, 280, 304, 314, 346.

reinforce a previous order which had been sent by the king.[1] A few were sent to the lesser officials of the subsidies : most of these ordered recompense for wool contributed towards the recent grant of 20,000 sacks, in the same way as the letters assigning wool ;[2] the rest were letters putting into execution grants already made by the king.[3] A number were sent similarly to the collectors of the customs, ordering them to pay out money or wool ;[4] but these were always reiterations of previous orders by the king or king and council. Letters to sheriffs, without mention, ordering them to pay out money were issued similarly in accordance with a previous grant by the king, or they ordered payment of arrears ;[5] and letters to the king's butler,[6] the Constable of Dover Castle,[7] even to the keeper of the Hanaper of Chancery,[8] were issued under similar circumstances. All of them were clearly little more than matters of administrative routine. The letters to the exchequer never ordered payment of money that was not already due ; and in some cases they left the treasurer free to refuse an allowance if he found that the chancery had been wrongly informed. They never ordered the treasurer to supersede a demand for money merely because such was the king's grace ; but because altered circumstances had made the demand no longer just. A simple example was a writ directing him to supersede his demand for the fees from an office, the reason being that the person from whom the fees were being asked, had ceased to hold the office.[9] And it is clear that letters to other officials were equally concerned with routine, obtaining the execution of grants already made or the payment of money already due.

Further illustration of that fact is afforded by the original letters under the great seal which had authorised payments made by the exchequer ; and by similar writs handed into the exchequer by various officials, with their accounts. If a writ from chancery ordered a wage

[1] *C.C.R.*, p. 93 ; *Ibid.*, 1339-41, p. 610.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1341-3, pp. 209 (*bis*), 210 (*bis*), 212, 213, 230, 334, 180-1.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 32, 62, 63, 165, 180, 231, 240, 281.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 173, 193, 204, 217, 228, 234, 239, 279, 283, 285, 290, 298, 317. Even orders to these officials bidding them permit wool to be shipped overseas were based on previous grants or orders by the king. *Ibid.*, pp. 314, 319, 324, 327, 328, 331, etc.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 65, 75, 157, 170, 206, 225, 279, 293, 304. To pay arrears of rent. *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 4, 64, 65, 69, 73, 76, 156.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 71, 75, 168, 295, 307.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 181, 302, 312.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 46, 59, 67, 91, 240.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 280, 314, 316-17, etc.

to be paid out of the exchequer for the first time, it showed a mention of service ;[1] but writs from chancery ordering succeeding payments were issued without.[2] The precedent created by the first was considered as covering its successors. Similarly, with regard to the wardrobe the king often granted to favourite officials the gift of a robe from the keeper every year, for life. Once the king had made the grant, chancery ordered the robe to be delivered each year as it became due, in every case by letter without mention of service.[3] Finally, among the numerous orders sent to Richard Ravenser, receiver of the possessions of the deceased Queen Isabella,[4] writs which actually conferred grants to be made from those possessions were authorised by the king ; but writs which ordered Ravenser to make payments as a result of those grants, or of others made by patent or charter, were not authorised. Orders to the auditors of Ravenser's account directing them to make allowance for payments he had made, and for which he had no written warrant, were authorised by the council. In every case a chancery writ ordering the payment of money bore some mention of service[5] unless that payment had been previously granted in a letter patent or charter,[6] or, in the case of wages, had been made to the same persons before. It is evident that if a grant had been made by letter patent the owner would not surrender the letter till he had been paid in full. But for the actual payment both of wages and grants, all officials apparently required a definite official command, to produce as a warrant when they accounted for the proceeds of their office. If they did not receive one, they had to obtain special allowance for their acts, as Ravenser did when he made his account with the exchequer. It was the chancellor who provided a great many of these authorisations by letters under the great seal. The issue of such letters was largely formal : there was very little discretion required ; and the chancellor needed no authorisation for his acts. But for such letters containing the clause " any previous order to the contrary notwithstanding " the chancellor had to obtain the authority of the council.[7]

[1] Exchequer Accounts, E404/28/72, 73 : cf. also No. 37.
[2] *Ibid.*, E404/28/69, 70, 74, 75. E404/48/2.
[3] *Ibid.*, E101/395/2. 397/4, 17, etc.
[4] *Ibid.*, E101/393/7.
[5] Cf. also *Ibid.*, E404/28/8, 38, 53. E404/48/6.
[6] Cf. also *Ibid.*, E404/48/2, 3, 5, 7, 8, etc. : cf. also E101/391/8.
[7] *Ibid.*, E404/28/86, 91.

Letters of presentation to churches formed a third important group. Some of these were issued without mention of service. These were of two classes. One simply records an exchange of benefices, an exchange apparently not initiated from chancery; so that they did not really sanction a new appointment.[1] The second class deals in every case, so far as I can ascertain, with presentations to churches whose value in 1341 was less than 20 marks.[2] Some of the churches

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1340-3, pp. 123, 172, 349, 273: cf. also *ibid.*, 1367-70, p. 443; *ibid.*, 1338-40, p. 259, and *ibid.*, 1370-4, p. 132.

[2] Churches to which presentation was made, without warrant, and not as a result of exchange of benefice :—

C.P.R., 1340-3. Page.	Church and Diocese.	*Nicholas Taxation.* Page.	Value. £ s. d.	Taxation : Henry VIII., Page and Value.
137	Middleton (Hereford)	179	6 13 4	—
145 (158)	Hundon (Norwich)	121	9 6 8	—
			less than	—
165	Neen Sollers (Hereford)	166b	4 0 0	
165	Tenbury (Hereford)	165b	6 13	—
174	Holy Trinity, Goodramgate (York)	298	6 13 4	—
176 & 247 / 178	Astwood (Lincoln)	33	6 13 4	—
186	Copdock (Norwich)	117b	8 0 0	—
192	Llangathen (St. David's)	273	4 6 8	—
242	St. Mary's, Cambridge (Ely)	266	4 6 8	—
244	Llanddewi Velfrey (St. Davids)	272	8 0 0	—
272	Oddingley (Worcester)	—	—	III. 232, £4 9s. 3d.
274	Adel (York)	299	10 13 4	—
		minus	0 13 4	for pension
		=	10 0 0	—
276	Rockville (Llandaff)	228	2 10 0	—
297	Lechlade (Worcester)	222	10 0 0	—
297	Welsh Bicknor (Hereford)	175	4 0 0	—
299	Bradwell (Lincoln)	—	2 13 4	—
335	Mumby (Lincoln)	295	0 11 4	—
341	Nuneaton (Lichfield)	—	—	III. 81, £24 14s. 6d.
345	Glen Magna (Lincoln)	—	—	IV. 161, £12 14s. 0d.
349	Willingham St. Mary (Norwich)	118	6 13 4	—
278	Farnham (Salisbury)	118	6 13 4	—
291	St. Bartholomew, Northampton (Lincoln)	—	—	—
186	Caldecote (Lincoln)	—	—	—
187	Charlton (Salisbury)	—	—	IV. 141, £3 13s. 4d.
341	St. Peter, Stamford (Lincoln)	—	—	—

It cannot be assumed that the churches of Nuneaton and Glen Magna were valued at more than 20 marks in the 14th century, because their value had probably increased by the 16th century.

to which presentation was made by letters containing a mention were also valued at less than 20 marks ;[1] but there is reason to believe, as I shall point out later, that 20 marks was the highest value to which presentation could be made without a special authorisation.[2]

Letters containing pardons formed a fourth rough group. They showed clearly a distinction between letters with and those without mention of service. Those used without consisted of three kinds, pardons that recorded the decisions previously made by the law courts,[3] those to outlaws who had surrendered for trial,[4] and those which were issued to people who had entered into or alienated land without license, or without taking the necessary legal steps.[5] It is obvious that the first kind was the result of a purely formal process when once the law courts had made their decision. The second resulted in a similar way from information from the law courts. The last was the only one that was not purely a matter of routine. But even that was a pardon only in name: in reality it was regarded as a license to alienate, obtained after the alienation had taken place, instead of before ; and it was obtained by the same process as the ordinary license. All other pardons—chiefly those needing the king's special grace, were issued with mentions. The only important exception, in 1341, was a pardon to Richard Willoughby "for tres-

[1] Presentations by warrant of privy seal :—

C.P.R., 1340-3. Page.	Church and Diocese.	*Nicholas Taxation.* Page.	Value.
			£ s. d.
283	Arreton (Isle of Wight), (Winchester)	211b	33 6 8
235	Brigham (Carlisle)	328	80 0 0
283	Martley (Worcester)	216	20 13 4
197	Mutton (York)	300	53 6 8
119	Potton (Lincoln)	35b	20 0 0
246	St. Mary, North Berkhampstead (Lincoln)	241	10 0 0

[2] See p. 126.

[3] Pardons for slaying a man "as it appears by the record of the justices that he killed him in self-defence": and similar writs. *C.P.R*, 1340-3, pp. 118, 119, 128, 129, 130, 172, 186, 224, 228, etc.

[4] "As it appears by the certificate of the justices that he has surrendered to prison." *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 126, 130, 171, etc. There were about 40 of them in 1341.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 148, 176, 185, 192, 199, 201, etc.

passes committed in the time of Edward II. and of the present king."[1] But Willoughby purchased it by fine of 1200 marks, for which he made a recognisance in chancery for 2200 marks.

The fifth group of letters—those dealing with the holding and inheritance of land, contained a considerable part of the letters in the calendars of chancery rolls for 1341, and of the original letters under the great seal preserved in chancery. Most of these letters were issued without mention of service, for example, those granting license to alienate or enfeoff,[2] or containing pardon for having done so without license ;[3] but more particularly, a great number of those ordering escheators to seize land which had been held by a tenant in chief recently deceased,[4] to cause dower to be given to a widow,[5] and to return to its owner a manor seized into the king's hands.[6] Writs commanding escheators to hold inquisitions of *Post Mortem* and *Ad Quod Damnum* were also without.[7] These inquisitions and others like them certainly provided the information on which most of the writs in this group were issued. But the chancery clerks evidently did not regard them as warrants for the issue of the writs ; they considered it more important to note the fines that had been paid for the writs than the inquisitions on which they were based. Probably, in this case the fine was more important as a justification for their issue.

In the next group,—letters to other local officials, those without mention of service were not so numerous. To sheriffs, for instance, important writs, as we have seen, were authorised by king, by king and council, or by privy seal. But writs directing them to cause coroners and verderers to be elected,[8] to cause people to have seizin

[1] *C.P.R.*. 1340-3, p. 229. There were two other exceptions. A pardon was issued to a merchant who had forfeited wool for smuggling. His ship was restored, but his wool was kept. *Ibid.*, p. 290. A pardon was issued to a person who had neglected to take the order of knighthood ; and an exemption was granted from taking it. *Ibid.*, p. 301.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 185, 225, 339, 340, 341, 343, 344, 348, 349, 357.
Generally (*a*) issued in accordance with a previous license from the king to acquire land.
(*b*) or purchased by a fine.

[3] See note (5) above.

[4] *Cal. Fine Rolls*, V., pp. 198-246, *passim*. There were above 70 letters of the kind issued.

[5] *C.C.R.*, 1341-3, pp. 206, 228, 283, 312.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 159, 165, 176, 185, 200, 283, 284, 324, etc.

[7] See p. 135.

[8] *C.C.R.*, 1341-3, pp. 6, 10, 323.

of land,[1] to allow prisoners out on bail, to seize the goods of persons who had made recognisances for debt in chancery and then had failed to pay were generally without authorisation. And writs demanding information from all kinds of local officials were also without.[2]

Finally, many of the remaining entries on the rolls consisted of memoranda which did not refer to letters that had been issued. They obviously had not needed any authorisation for their presence. Even the more important process of recording and renewing a previous concession by a letter of exemplification and its copy on the rolls, was rarely based on an authorisation.[3] But in cases of doubt, when something more than a renewal had been obtained by the issue of letters of "inspeximus" and ratification, a mention of service was generally recorded.[4] If there was no mention of service there was generally a fine showing a purpose similar to that of the fines on letters of license.

So far it has been clear that letters issued without mention of service were mainly concerned with the routine work of administration. A number of the letters I have regarded as containing appointments were really only formal warrants to the sheriffs to procure the election of local officers. Letters of finance merely directed the payment of grants already due. Letters of pardon were either formal records, or were licenses that could be bought and sold: in no case did they administer the king's grace. Similarly, to all the local officials, even to escheators, the letters without mention of service were confined purely to administrative matters. Finally, in the work of recording, authorisations were never required except for letters of inspeximus and ratification which often contained fresh concessions from the king. The three types of letter for which mentions apparently were least required were those concerned with justice, with questions of land tenure, and with presentation to churches below the value of 20 marks.

Letters authorised by the council, to the treasurer, to collectors of

[1] Chancery Misc. Writs and Returns, 89/3, 104/4, 136/9, *passim.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *C.P.R.*, 1340-3, *passim.* There were more than 80 letters of exemplification in the patent roll for 1341. There were 10 of inspeximus and 5 of confirmation, purchased in nearly every case by payment of a fine.

[4] E.g., *Cal. Charter Rolls*, V., pp. 6 (*bis*), 7 (*bis*), 9, 45. There is one (pp. 7-8), "by fine of 12 marks." Cf. also *C.P.R.*, 1340-3, pp. 77, 83, 151, 173, 194, 234, 271-2, 283, 302.

the subsidies and customs, to sheriffs and to bailiffs were generally exactly similar to those issued without authorisation. Appointments by the council were more numerous; but they were either to less important administrative offices, or to judicial commissions.[1] A number of letters authorised by the council directed the administration of justice[2] and the work of sheriffs.[3] On the other hand there were few pardons, orders to escheators, or to sheriffs asking for information, letters of exemplification or presentations to churches, such as were issued without mention of service.

Generally speaking, all important business was authorised by king and council, by king, or by privy seal. Administrative work was done by warrants of privy seal, of the council, of the departments concerned, or without warrants. Of this work the most important was that authorised by privy seal, and the next important perhaps that by the council. But that which was done by letters without mention of service was almost as weighty and much more extensive: certainly much more important than the work done by virtue of any departmental warrant. Under what circumstances then was a writ issued without mention of service?

The absence of the mention of service seems to have meant that the writ had been issued by the chancellor as an administrative officer and not as keeper of the great seal: not so much that it was the work of chancery clerks alone, as that the chancellor alone was responsible for its issue. The administrative office of chancery was peculiarly concerned with recording and controlling the tenure of land from the crown, and with the administration of justice. Accordingly, we find that two out of the three types of writ that were used extensively without mention of service were part of those two main activities of chancery. In both cases a great number of writs were issued from chancery — writs for *Ad Quod Damnum* and *Post Mortem* concerned with the tenure of land, and numberless original writs "of course" concerned with justice—that were not even recorded in the rolls.

In the case of presentations to churches we know that in the four-

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1340-3, pp. 118, 165, 197, 231, 250 (*bis*), 255, etc.; pp. 158, 165, 202, 203, 205, 206, etc. There were 42 judicial commissions.
[2] *C.C.R.*, 1341-3, pp. 36-7, 66, 106, 109, 139, 140, etc.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 65, 69, 74, 89, 108, 113, 114, 120, 128, etc.

teenth century the chancellor definitely possessed the power of himself presenting chancery clerks to vacant livings in the king's patronage, whose taxable value was less than 20 marks.[1] No doubt the disposal of such livings was not entirely a privilege, but also a means of relieving the king of comparatively unimportant business. The chancellor, we have already seen, presented to churches below the value of 20 marks, by writs without mention of service, but never to those above. The king presented to those, indeed he occasionally disposed of livings of small value as well ; or in a more general manner nominated a clerk to the next void living he would accept, that should come into a chancellor's hands.[2] So that neither chancellor nor chancery clerks ever obtained a monopoly of the churches less than 20 marks in value. In 1330 it was definitely ordered that clerks of the exchequer and the two benches should have a right to such preferment along with the chancery clerks.[3] In this case it is very clear the chancellor issued writs without mention of authorisation when he was acting on his own responsibility, concerned with matters definitely allotted to him ; but for any other business, even if it was similar to his own, he carefully recorded the warrant he had received for his acts.[4] With regard to

[1] *Rot. Parl.*, II., 41.

[2] E.g., *C.P.R.*, 1340-3, p. 147. On March 6th, 1341, a writ was issued from chancery ordering the chancellor to present J. Coupegorge, king's clerk, to a void benefice in the king's gift, the taxable value of which was not to exceed £40. The writ was the result of an order by the privy seal. It was repeated on March 24th, 1341 (*Ibid.*, p. 162), when Coupegorge was put third on the list of those waiting for promotion ; but it was not until February 10th, 1345, that he received his next living. This was the church of Whimple in the diocese of Exeter (*C.P.R.*, 1343-5, p. 436), valued at £6 13s. 4d. *Nicholas Taxation*, p. 144b. The mention of service on the writ making this presentation was also " by privy seal."

[3] *Rot. Parl.*, II., 41.

[4] The letter issued without mention of service on March 14th, 1341, for which, as I have mentioned before, the chancellor afterwards received a warrant of privy seal, signified to the bishop of London the royal assent to the election of a prior to the church of St. Mary the Virgin and St. John the Baptist " Bykenacre " (probably the priory of Bikinacre in Woodham-Ferris county Essex. Tanner, *Essex*, XLIX. ; *C.P.R.*, 1334-8, p. 349 ; Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary*). It was a formal letter and probably lay within the scope of the chancellor's usual work. The reason a privy seal warrant was received was possibly that the bishop of London objected to the election after the chancellor had sanctioned it, and the chancellor obtained a warrant as a precautionary measure. (See p. 113 above.)

all three branches of administrative work that were peculiarly his own the chancellor had considerable powers of discretion: outside he had very little.

In 1341 at least the chancellor seems to have used the great seal in two very different capacities. In one he was secretary of state for all departments, the instrument of all the most important acts of the crown. In the other he was the head of an administrative department, acting largely on his own responsibility just as the treasurer acted in the work of the exchequer. So that we may regard the great seal from two different points of view: from one it was the seal of the realm by which the king through his deputy the chancellor authenticated all his most solemn acts: from the other it was a departmental seal just as much as was the exchequer seal, and was used in the same way for the needs of an administrative office. There is no evidence, of course, that Edward III.'s chancellors ever consciously divided their duties; it was not in the nature of fourteenth century civil servants to discriminate between the various capacities in which they served the king. The chancellor's administrative work had resulted from, and was still part of, his duties as keeper of the seal. There was no question of a separate seal, or of separate records. But in one part of his duties he received and carefully noted, authorisations for his acts; in the other, though he used the great seal because he had always used it, he acted on his own discretion. The letters he issued without mention of service were just as much his work as those under the exchequer seal were the work of the treasurer.

There were very few writs in 1341 without mention that might not reasonably have been issued by the chancellor alone. The most important was a concession to the citizens of London in the general reconciliation which took place between them and the king.[1] But a whole series of letters to foreign powers issued without mention of service[2] demands a special explanation. Important letters to officers

[1] *Fœdera*, II., 1162. *C.P.R.*, 1340-3, p. 225.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 1164, 1165, 1150, 1160-1, 1157, etc.; *C.C.R.*, 1341-3, pp. 132, 245, 249, 265, 341, etc. Other possible exceptions which I have noticed were: *C.C.R.*, 1341-3, p. 122. An order to the bishop of London to publish the king's letter against John Stratford, archbishop of Canterbury. This, however, was probably a repetition of a previous order authorised by the king, printed *C.C.R.*, 1341-3, pp. 102-3. *C.P.R.*, 1340-3, p. 219. This was a letter issued dated at the Tower of London, on

abroad were authorised generally by the king or king and council; even more so then ought these to be authorised, at least by privy seal! A warrant by the privy seal would, as we have seen, have been regarded as a protection to the chancellor and a control for chancellor and king. It must, however, have been a commonplace, at least in the time of Edward III.'s greatness, that the only source of a letter to a foreign power was the king himself. And it must have been quite out of the question for either chancellor or chancery clerk so far to abuse his office, as to issue letters of such first rate importance and public nature, unless clearly authorised to do so. Lastly, most of the letters must have been dictated at councils in which the chancellor himself took a prominent part. Under these circumstances neither warrant nor mention of service served any useful purpose; and they were very rarely employed.

Two questions still remain to be answered. Was the use of authorisations the same throughout Edward III.'s reign? And how are we to explain the difference between the use then and that in the century before? In attempting to answer the first question I have

June 2nd, 1341, assigning to the Duke of Guelders, 1030 sacks of wool. There was no mention of service. But the letter was vacated, "because otherwise below." A similar letter (same date, etc.) appears on page 262, also without mention, and also vacated. A final letter appears on page 266 (also same date, etc., but more complete and detailed). This was issued by warrant of privy seal. *C.P.R.*, 1340-3, p. 276. This was a mandate issued to the treasurer and barons, dated September 10th, 1341, directing them to pay out money to merchants. There was no mention, but the preceding entry had obviously been specially put there, because it was dated June 25th, 1341, and was very much out of place, with regard to the dating of the neighbouring letters. It contained a promise to pay the same merchants the same money, on the nativity of the Virgin Mary (September 8th), and was authorised by privy seal. *C.P.R.*, 1340-3, p. 253. A prebend was granted by letter patent, without mention. But it had been previously granted by warrant of privy seal (*Ibid.*, p. 128) and was again granted by warrant of the king (*Ibid.*, p. 287). *Ibid.*, p. 227. A writ without mention pardoned part (£30) of a fine of £80 that had been levied by the justices enquiring into the conduct of the king's ministers. But in the writ it was stated that it was issued "at the request of William Clynton Earl of Huntingdon." *Fœdera*, II., 1154 (March 23rd, 1341). A letter to the men of Guernsey exhorting them to believe Thomas Hampton, sent by the king, and to accept his advice. But Thomas Hampton was appointed Keeper of the isles of Guernsey, etc., in March 20th, by authorisation of the king. *Cal. Fine Roll*, V., p. 216.

examined the use of warrants in one or two different periods of the reign : first in 1328 when, in contrast to 1341, the period of triumph for Edward III. and his household ministers, lip service at least was being paid to the constitutional aims of the old baronial opposition to the crown. At the same time the government itself was irregular, and the chancellor himself was working hand in glove with Mortimer and Isabella to exclude the young king from power. But the general use of warrants and mentions of service was the same. Important letters were perhaps authorised less by the king, and more by warrants under privy seal.[1] Perhaps also the chancellor's work was greater and that of council less : but both performed the same kind of work as in 1341. Even though the chancellor was in a very strong position, much of his power, if we may believe the evidence of Cotes in 1330, lay in his influence in the office of privy seal, whereby he could obtain what warrants he chose, not in his ability to issue letters without authorisation. The only important grant made in 1328, by a letter without mention of service, was a gift of land to Ebulo Lestrange to hold for life ; but in this case it was recorded on the chancery rolls that Lestrange, in the presence of the council, agreed to surrender the letter for cancellation if the prelates and magnates of the realm did not consent to it.[2] In no other case that I have noticed did the chancellor betray any exceptional power.[3]

During the periods both before and after 1341 when the king was abroad in Flanders and in France, he took with him the great seal of the realm, entrusted to the care of the keeper of the privy seal, and left in England a temporary "seal of absence" to be used

[1] In 1328 grants by the king were often concerned with trivial things like pontage, pavage, or assize of bread. *C.P.R.*, 1327-30, pp. 238, 248 (*bis*), 268, 318, 321. In 1328 the treasurer was appointed by warrant of privy seal; in 1341 a similar promotion was authorized by the king. *C.P.R.*, 1327-30, p. 249; *C.P.R.*, 1340-3, p. 298. In 1328 a keeper of the Tower of London was appointed by the king; but a month later the appointment was superseded by a letter authorised by the privy seal. *Cal. Fine Roll.*, IV., 87, 93.

[2] *C.P.R.*, 1327-30, p. 338.

[3] In November, 1328, Roger Mortimer was appointed justice of all Wales, for life, by writ without mention of service, *C.P.R.*, 1327-30, p. 327. But a previous writ making the same grant had been issued on August 27th, 1328, with mention of service, "by privy seal." *Ibid.*, p. 317.

by the chancellor in its place.[1] The keeper of the privy seal had full charge of the great seal: indeed in the Treaty of Bretigny, in the latter part of the reign, he was described as "chancellor of the king."[2] He never in his own office recorded authorisations he had received for his acts. But in this case, when his acts under the great seal came to be recorded in the chancery rolls in England, they nearly all bore mention of service "by the king."[3] Meanwhile, in England, authorisations by the king, or by king and council, were replaced by those of the keeper, or by the keeper and council; and the king's privy seal was replaced for some purposes by the privy seal of the keeper.[4] The letters without mention of service were the same. Before going overseas in 1338 Edward commanded, in the Ordinances of Walton, that letters without mention of privy seal warrants or of council should only concern the law or the office of chancery: in no case should they administer the king's especial grace.[5] But the Ordinances made little difference. In the next few months fewer letters without mention of service were addressed to the exchequer,[6] and no letters with mention "by bill of treasurer" were issued: but even the latter had reappeared before the king's return in November, 1340.[7] This was the only attempt made to establish a special control on the issue of writs while the king was abroad: on other occasions it was apparently assumed that the normal conditions would be unaffected by his absence.

[1] In 1329 and 1331 he had left the great seal in England, *C.C.R.*, 1327-30, p. 547; *C.C.R.*, 1330-3, p. 299. In 1338, 1345, 1346 and 1359 he left behind a seal of absence: *C.C.R*, 1337-9, pp. 519-20; *C.C.R.*, 1343-5, p. 594; *C.P.R.*, 1345-8, p. 142; *C.C.R.*, 1354-60, p. 656.

[2] *Fœdera*, III., i., 494.

[3] *C.P.R.*, 1338-40, pp. 189-97; 370-410.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1345-8, pp. 518-70, etc. Chancery Warrants, Series 1, file 1532.

[5] See p. 111, n. 1.

[6] In the six months (January 1st to July 12th) before the issue of the Ordinances the proportion of letters without warrant to those with was about 1 to 2: during the rest of the year the proportion was about 1 to 4.

[7] These mentions were fairly numerous till September 8th, 1338, *C.C.R.*, 1337-9, pp. 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 458, 464, 467; *C.P.R.*, 1338-40, pp. 5, 100, 108, 118 (*bis*), 123 (*bis*), 125. After that time there were no more till January, 1339, when they appeared again, but not so frequently as before. *C.C.R.*, 1339-41, pp. 31, 40, 137, 188, 188-9, 195, 208, 425, 426, 496; *C.P.R.*, 1338-40, pp. 211, 260, 336, 413, etc.

Finally, in 1365, towards the end of the reign the only exceptional letters issued without warrant were a grant af £20 at the exchequer to a king's clerk, to last until the chancellor should provide him with a revenue of equal value from the church,[1] and one or two pardons for crime.[2] But in the writs containing these pardons it was also clearly stated that they had been issued "at the request of the king's kinswoman the Countess of Pembroke," or "at the request of the king's son, the Duke of Lancaster." The chancellor took the precaution of stating why he had issued even such comparatively unimportant writs without authorisation. Other concessions by the chancellor were a grant of wardship of land "not exceeding the value of five marks:" and a grant of pavage purchased by a forty shilling fine.[3] The use of other mentions of service was the same as that in 1341. Without examining further any separate years we can perhaps conclude that the system of authorisation was substantially the same in every year of the reign.

In Edward III.'s reign mentions of service were regularly used: in the preceding century they had, except in one or two periods, been used rarely if at all. What exactly was the change that had taken place? It is a remarkable fact that mentions of service were used as frequently under King John as they were under Edward III.[4] They appeared regularly during the minority of Henry III. In that period writs were nearly always witnessed by William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, and later by the Justiciar,[5] Hubert de Burgh. But immediately Henry had been pronounced by the Pope old enough to govern, although he had not yet declared his intention of ruling, he began himself generally to "witness" letters.[6] Moreover, after that

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1364-7, p. 184. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 98, 175.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 185, 179. Other small concessions appeared. *Ibid.*, pp. 98, 112, 129, 197, 154, 170.

[4] *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, 1204-24, *passim*. They referred either to the king or to the officers who had ordered the writ. The officers also sometimes "witnessed" the writ, in which case the final clause was not "Teste Meipso," but "Teste N." The mention of service was then often simply "per eundem." The officers evidently assumed in form a far greater measure of responsibility for the issue of the writ than any of their successors in the fourteenth century.

[5] *P.R.*, 1216-25, *passim*. Occasionally they were "witnessed" by Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester.

[6] The Pope declared Henry competent to govern in April, 1223. On December 8th, 1223, a letter was issued from chancery with final clause and

time the mentions of service gradually disappeared. Henry had not only insisted on a formal recognition of the royal position as the source of all writs, but had refused to allow his officers to share that position in any way. Accordingly we find that, for the greater part of his reign, letters patent and close were issued as charters had always been, without mention of service. The use of mentions was temporarily renewed in the troubled period between 1247-58 ;[1] but they fell into disuse in the last period of the reign. They were exceptional during the early years of Edward I. Later in the reign, however, the chancery was occasionally, for long periods, separated from the king ; and probably as a result a number of original warrants by privy seal were preserved in chancery,[2] and an increased number of mentions of service were recorded in the departmental rolls.[3] Finally, about 1293, mentions again began to be noted as frequently as they had been in John's reign.[4] It was not until 1297 that

mention of service, "Teste H (de Burgo) apud Westmonasterium, viii die Decembris, anno regni nostri viii, coram domino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo. Per ipsum dominum regem." On December 12th, a letter was issued with clause and mention, "Teste me ipso apud London, xii die Decembris, anno regni nostri viii°, coram H. de Burgo, justiciario, et Bathoniensi et Sarresburiensi episcopis." And on the same day a letter was issued with the final clause simply, "Teste me ipso apud Turrim Londonie, xii° die Decembris, anno regni nostri viii" (*P.R.*, 1216-25, p. 417. Cf. also, *Ibid.*, pp. 418, 419, 420, 421, etc.). Henry declared he intended to govern alone, in January, 1227 (Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, II., 34, 39).

[1] *C.P.R.*, 1242-8, pp. 142 to the end. Mentions of service appeared even on charters in 1251. *Cal. Charter Roll*, II., pp. 362, 363, 369, 371, etc.

[2] Chancery Warrants, 1/1/6-27 : 5 Edward I.—privy seal warrants dated at Carnarvon or Rhuddlan. *Ibid.*, 1/1/28-32 : 7 Edward I. : dated Dover and Amiens. *Ibid.*, 1/1/40-50 : 10 Edward I. : dated Aberconway, etc. *Ibid.*, 1/1/55-111, 1/2/111-81 : 11 Edward I. : Carnarvon, Aberconway, etc. It is quite clear, in the case of many of the warrants, that the chancery was away from the king when they were issued.

[3] *C.P.R.*, 1281-92, pp. 38, 53, 54, 62, 63, etc.; *C.C.R.*, 1279-88, pp. 270, 271, 272, 273, etc.

[4] *C P R.*, 1292-1301, pp. 4, 7, 10, 11, etc.; *C.C.R.*, 1288-96, pp. 218, 219, 234, 277, 278, 281, 284-5, 287, 289, 290, 291, etc. After p. 291 (June, 1293) mentions of service were numerous. *Cal. Charter Roll*, II., pp. 10 (1258), 78 (1267), 231 (1280), 262 (1282), 428 (1292, June 8). After p. 428 mentions of service were the general rule on charters. The original warrants of privy seal varied greatly in number still, after this date.

authorisations by the council were recorded among them,[1] but after that period the series of mentions was almost complete. From this time the mention of service obviously began to have a new meaning. Throughout the thirteenth century the assumption had always been that a letter without mention of service had come directly from the king. That was probably why Henry had suppressed mentions of service, and that explains why they never appeared on charters. Authorisations were, after Henry III.'s minority, and except for a few short periods in his reign, recorded only in exceptional circumstances, for solemnity or perhaps because of the king's absence. After 1293 the absence of mentions of service began to mean, on the contrary, that the letter had been issued by the chancellor, on his own responsibility, without troubling the king. By Edward III.'s reign, as we have seen, the letters without mention of service were fixed and defined: they were the work of the administrative office of chancery: all those which had been specially sanctioned by the king, or ordered by another office, bore mentions of service to that effect.

There still remains to be considered the mentions of the clerks which sometimes appeared on letters issued under the great seal in the fourteenth century. These were much less important than the mentions of service; and they were never copied into the chancery rolls. In later copies of a solemn oath administered to chancery clerks in 1346 they have been given an important place: but they do not seem to have been mentioned in the oath that was actually taken.[2] They were, however, used along with the mentions of service, before that date, though only in a limited manner. Of the chancery writs accessible in the Public Record Office, I have only found one kind, before Edward III.'s reign, on which the mention of the clerk regularly appeared. This kind consisted of writs returned to Chancery, chiefly from different local officials: writs for inquisitions—of *Ad Quod Damnum*, of *Post Mortem*, and Miscellaneous; and writs and returns not obtained by inquisition.[3] Of the writs for inquisitions, the first were orders, mostly to escheators or sheriffs, to ascertain if a proposed transaction, such as a grant by the king, or an alienation by a

[1] *C.C.R.*, 1296-1302, pp. 56, 63, 65, 66, etc.; *C.P.R.*, 1292-1301, p. 289 (July 8th, 1297), etc.

[2] *Statutes of the Realm*, I., 306.

[3] Chancery Miscellaneous Writs and Returns.

tenant in chief was harmful to the interests of the crown. The second were generally orders to sheriffs or escheators on the death of a tenant in chief, commanding a survey to be made of the land he had held from the king. The third commanded inquisitions that lay outside those two main categories. The writs and returns chiefly consisted of orders to local officers, demanding information, orders to sheriffs to allow captives out on bail, and orders to the same officers to distrain for the payment of debts. They were all acts of administrative routine which did not need warrants for their issue ; and neither the writs nor the inquisitions were recorded in the chancery rolls.

The name of a chancery clerk—we cannot safely, at this early date, describe it as a signature—had appeared on the front of some of these writs, for instance those of *Ad Quod Damnum*, as early as the reign of Edward I. :[1] on others, such as those ordering sheriffs to destrain for debt the mention did not appear, at least so long as the writs were returned to chancery.[2] On writs of *Post Mortem* it appeared first in January, 1352.[3] This seems to have been the period when its use was widely extended. After 1350 it appeared on all writs returned to chancery much more regularly than had been the case in the early part of the reign.[4] It was also adopted on writs

[1] Chancery Inquisitions, A.Q.D., file 1-file 4 (6 Edward I.), file 5 (7 Edward I.), file 15, 16, etc. They were fairly numerous by 19-20 Edward I. In 19 Edward I. (*Ibid.*, file 15) there were 15 signed out of 34 writs. In 19-20 Edward I. (*Ibid.*, file 17) there were 13 signed out of 28 writs. In 21 Edward I. (*Ibid.*, file 20) there were 21 signed out of 30 writs. After this time signatures were regular though still in cases omitted. In 28 Edward I. (*Ibid.*, file 33) there were 18 signed out of 26 writs. In 29 and 30 Edward I. (files 36, 37, 38, etc.), there were no other mentions and signatures were most regular. In 32 Edward I. (*Ibid.*, file 45) there were 14 signed out of 19 writs. In 1 Edward II. (*Ibid.*, file 66) there were 17 signed out of 24 writs.

[2] Chanc. Misc. Writs and Returns, 1091/1, 122/1, 104/4. Orders to destrain were numerous. But *Ibid.*, 137/13, 104/5, they were very rare. By the time the mentions came into general use (1354), these writs were no longer preserved.

[3] Chancery Inquisitions Post Mortem, Edward III., No. 113. There were no signatures before this time. But in *Ibid.*, Edward III./113 (1352) there were 25 signed out of 28 writs. In 1353 (*Ibid.*, Edward III./125) there were 36 signed out of 37 writs. In 1356 (*Ibid.*, Edward III./135) there were 28 signed out of 29 writs.

[4] In 15 Edward III. (1341), Chancery Inquisitions A.Q.D., file 256, there were 12 signed out of 21 writs. *Ibid.*, file 257, there were 10 signed

which were not returned. The first mention of the clerk to appear on a letter to the exchequer was in October, 1350 :[1] the second was in 1355.[2] After that time it was rarely omitted. In writs issued to the wardrobe, chamber, sheriffs, etc., I have only noticed one such mention before 1354 :[3] but it appeared regularly after that date. Generally speaking, it seems that the mentions of the clerk had appeared as early as the reign of Edward I., but until the middle of Edward III.'s reign it had been largely confined to writs returned to chancery. It had been a special control for the purpose of that office. In 1350-4, however, it was adopted on every kind of chancery writ. It became more important and much more regular, a part in fact of a general system of checks in the issue of writs. It was even adopted by other administrative departments. By 1360 the mention had been introduced into the office of privy seal, and became the first and only control, in the reign of Edward III., on the issue of writs from that office.[4]

The other mention of the clerk, that on the back of the writ, also appeared on writs returned to chancery as early as the first years of Edward I. Perhaps the writs of *Ad Quod Damnum* illustrate best its use in those years. The first mentions on the dorse of those writs referred to various authorisations, by king, by queen,[5] or frequently by chancellor.[6] They were numerous at the time of Edward's campaign in Wales,[7] and almost in regular use during the years 1291-3.[8]

out of 17 writs. *Ibid.*, file 259, there were 13 signed out of 20 writs. In 39 Edward III. (1355), *Ibid.*, file 355, there were 18 signed out of 22 writs. *Ibid.*, file 356, there were 21 signed out of 21 writs. *Ibid.*, file 357, there were 29 signed out of 29 writs. After this a signature appeared on almost every writ. Cf. also Chancery Miscellaneous Writs and Returns, 109/1, 136/2, 122/1, 104/4, 89/3, 137/13, etc.

[1] Exchequer Warrants, E404/5/32. Thomas Cotingham, October 18, 1350.

[2] *Ibid.*, E/404/5/34. There were very few chancery writs in the files of Exchequer Warrants for the period 1352-5.

[3] Exchequer Accounts, E101/552/21. [4] *Ibid.*, E404/6/38.

[5] Chancery Inquisitions A.Q.D., file 3, 55 Henry III. "ad instantiam Regine."

[6] E.g., *Ibid.*, 55 Henry III., "Cancellarius precepit."

[7] *Ibid.*, files 6, 7, 8, "Cancellarius mandavit de Rothelan," etc.

[8] Chancery Inquisitions A.Q.D., file 15 (1291). There were mentions on 19 out of 34 writs. *Ibid.*, file 17 (1291-2). There were mentions on 20 out of 32 writs. *Ibid.*, file 20 (1293). There were mentions on 22 out of 30 writs.

At that time, however, there appeared on the face of the writ, the ordinary mentions of service, which were now coming into general use.[1] And, besides these two, the mention of the clerk on the face of the writ also began to appear regularly by 1294. There were thus three separate controls on what was, after all, a comparatively unimportant writ. As a reaction, apparently, from such excessive precaution both the mention of service and the mention on the back of the writ began to disappear, leaving only the name of the clerk in front. This process was apparent in 1296, and completed by 1300.[2] By 1304, however, still another change had taken place: mentions on the dorse had been re-introduced; but they were, and remained, confined with a few exceptions to references either to the chancellor or to some leading chancery clerk. It seems that a special authorisation was now considered necessary; but it was found expedient to provide it within the chancery itself. It continued on this kind of writ during the whole of Edward III.'s reign; but, unlike the mention on the front, it was never adopted generally, at least before 1377.

It is impossible in this article to deal adequately with writs not preserved in the public record office. I have been content to glance at a very few trustworthy copies. There are a few in Mr. W. de G. Birch's *Royal Charters of Lincoln*,[3] a number in Dr. H. Hall's *Formula Book of Diplomatic Documents*,[4] and a valuable collec-

[1] Chancery Inquisitions A.Q.D., files 18, 19, 20.

[2] *Ibid.*, file 25 (1296). There were 11 mentions of service in front of the writ, and 9 mentions on the back, out of 22 writs. The mentions of service were not always in the right-hand corner of the writ as in Edward III.'s time, but frequently in the left-hand corner, or in the middle. *Ibid.*, file 30 (1299). There were 5 mentions of service and 5 mentions on the back, out of 17 writs. *Ibid.*, file 33 (1300). There were 2 mentions of service and 5 mentions on the back out of 26 writs: all the mentions on the back referred to the chancellor. *Ibid.*, file 34, no mentions except those of the clerks in front. *Ibid.*, file 35, one other mention. *Ibid.*, file 36 (29 Edward I.), two other mentions. *Ibid.*, file 37, two other mentions. *Ibid.*, file 38, one other mention. *Ibid.*, file 39 (30 Edward I.), three mentions. *Ibid.*, file 40, no mentions. *Ibid.*, file 41 (31 Edward I.), four mentions. *Ibid.*, file 42, three mentions. *Ibid.*, file 45 (32 Edward I.), seven mentions on dorse. *Ibid.*, file 50, eight mentions on dorse, none of service. *Ibid.*, file 60 (34 Edward I.), 17 mentions on dorse out of 23 writs, none of service. The mentions of service may have gone because the Writs of A.Q.D. were recognised as being the work of chancery alone.

[3] Cambridge, 1911.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1908, pp. 30-40, 60-78.

tion in Mr. H. E. Salter's *Mediæval Archives of Oxford*.[1] In these collections there are copies of 81 letters under the great seal issued between 1292 and 1377. Of those issued before 1355, 10 bore a mention of the clerk, on the face of the writ,[2] out of a total of 64, the earliest being in 1304. Of the rest, 11 bore the mention out of a total of 17. In the letters printed by Mr. Salter the mention appeared on 6 out of 7 issued in 1355. And after 1355, in contrast with the previous years, the writs containing the mention were of many kinds, both patent and close. These copies, therefore, as well as the writs in the Public Record Office, prove clearly that the use of the mention of the clerk was considerably extended after 1354. On the other hand they show that the mention was never confined entirely to writs that were to be returned to chancery. It seems to have appeared before 1354 both on charters and letters of *inspeximus* and confirmation ;[3] though to what extent is at present impossible to decide. It was placed apparently either on the face or on the *repli* of these letters.

Finally we must remember that there were other mentions on the chancery letters ; but I shall be content only to refer to these. In the absence of mentions of service, or sometimes in addition to them, mentions such as "by fine of 10 marks," "by fine of 20s.," etc.,[4] apparently served the same purpose of justifying the issue of writs, but did not shift any responsibility from the chancellor. If several copies of the same writ were issued, the fact was noted on the writ by the mention *dupplicatur* or *triplicatur*.[5] In 1317 a document bore the mention *examinatur*.[6] In 1315 a lettier bore, besides the mention of the clerk in front, the mention *examinatur per Hugonem de Burgo :*[7] another the mention *examinatur per H. de Clyf ;*[8] and a third, in 1327,[9] the same kind of mention. In 1356 the note

[1] Oxford Hist. Soc., 1920, Vol. I.

[2] One other had the mention "examinatur per H. de Clyf."

[3] H. Hall, pp. 67, 32-3, 33-4, 61 ; H. E. Salter, p. 113.

[4] *Cal. Charter Roll*, IV., 484, 486 ; V., 31, 33, etc.

[5] Hall, *Formula Book of Diplomatic Documents*, pp. 33, 72-3 ; Salter, *Archives Oxford*, p. 121.

[6] Hall, pp. 71-2.

[7] Salter, pp. 88-94. The mention of the clerk was "Ayrem" (Airmyn).

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 95-6. There was no mention of clerk. There was also a similar mention in 1319 : Hall, pp. 32-3.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 108-9.

on a letter was *examinatur per J. de Pokelyngton et D. de Lanc ;*[1] and this form of the mention with two examiners, seems to have been common in the last years of Edward III., and the early years of Richard II. In the letters I have examined it seems to have been still another check on important grants or confirmations.

These, then, are the chief mentions appearing on English chancery writs in the fourteenth century. The general situation with regard to their use seems to be clear. With the increasing specialisation of administrative work in chancery in Edward I.'s reign, and the increasing separation between chancery and king, the system of authorisation for chancery writs was worked out in the form it was to preserve through the following century. In the process the particular sphere of chancery administration was recognised and the formality of obtaining outside authorisation for work which lay within that sphere was not insisted on. However, for some of the most important writs issued in this administrative work chancery introduced a special control in the mention of the clerks. Even, in some cases, a further check was provided in the name of a responsible clerk or the chancellor on the dorse of the writ. The first was a control for the chancellor ; the second for either chancellor or king. Of these two controls, however, the first was not generally adopted by chancery until 1350-4, and the second never came into general use. Before that time, in England, they do not seem to have been really required. The chancellor had complete control over his department, for most purposes, by the organisation of the chancery household, by the grading of the chancery clerks, and by the use of warrants. It was probably only the growing complexity of the office, and the disintegration of the chancery household that led to the extension in the use of mentions of the clerk after 1354. The king had an effective control over his chancellor, and the chancellor a strong justification for his acts, in the system of warrants and mentions of service. The one supplemented the other ; and at least during Edward III.'s reign they seem to have been entirely effective. In the discharge of the administrative duties of his office the chancellor was allowed more liberty of action, perhaps, than any other officer of the state. A chancellor of ability and character could still alter the whole tone of

[1] Salter, pp. 161-6. The name of the clerk "J. de Lanc." occurs both in the mention of the clerk and in the mention "examinatur, etc." This was often the case: cf. Birch, pp. 62-7, 68-9, 73.

administration ; and he could make his influence felt in every corner of the land. But outside those duties the nature of his office changed, and his powers of discretion largely ceased. He acted only as keeper of the royal seal : the royal prerogative was exercised through him but not by him alone. He was strictly accountable for his acts and carefully recorded the authorisation for them which he had received.

A NOTE ON THE CRITICISM OF RECORDS.

By C. G. CRUMP, M.A.

LATE AN ASSISTANT KEEPER AT THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.

THE main trend of historical study during the last half century has been towards a particular form of research, of research based upon original documents; and a result of this trend has been to insist on the use of records in place of chronicles or histories as the proper source of authority. The conflict of the two schools could be traced in the letters of J. R. Green; but it is only my intention here to note the fact without comment, and to suggest that there is at present a tendency in the academic world to use record sources rather uncritically. And while I venture on this suggestion, I am not unaware that it is vain to tell a student that he must criticize his records before he uses them; for in all forms of study immersion must precede natation.

But taking it as facts that at present serious historical study is founded upon original documents, and that most students would regard records as of all original documents the most original, there are two main comments to be made. In the first place, the majority of records are not original documents at all, unless the word original is used in a technical and restricted sense. In the second place, nearly all records are deliberately drawn up in such a fashion as to conceal the character, the opinions and the mental equipment of the writer of them and even of the man who caused them to be written. And the result of these two facts is that no record is ever likely to tell the whole truth; and that the careless enquirer may easily be led astray, if he relies too confidently upon records.

Now it is, of course, easy to say that all that we mean by the word 'original' is that we have got back as near to the original source as we can, and are not going to trouble about the rest; and if we are right on this point, that is a very reasonable and practical conclusion,

though one not free from danger. A few instances may make the point clearer. A hasty student coming upon Doomsday Book might jump to the conclusion that it was an original document; it is, of course, a compressed and rearranged abstract of the original returns made by the commissioners. Those rolls are not known to exist even as fragments; and even those rolls must have been derivative documents founded on materials whose nature we cannot even conjecture. Again, no Pipe Roll is an original document. In part it is copied from materials, orders for payment, tallies, vouchers of all kinds; in part each Pipe Roll is a copy from the preceding roll, and the filiation of the text presents problems that can hardly be stated in this paper. And so we might proceed to the conclusion that I would draw, that all records of a formal character and many of an informal character are the result of a definite process of manufacture from materials, which are not always now in our possession.

A critical canon should have a double effect; it should help a student to avoid error, and, what is more important, point the way to new methods of discovery. The first effect I do not propose to discuss here. But there are two cases in which an attempt to get at the materials which lie behind original records has led me to some results worth having. There is a well-known class of records known as inquisitions post mortem. On the face of it they seem simple documents, enquiries by sworn juries, setting forth their answers to a series of questions propounded to them by the chancery through the escheator. Physically a specimen will consist of a writ of enquiry, a statement of the lands of which the deceased person died seised, and of the name and age of his heir; and if it is complete, there will be a list of the fees and advowsons held under him. It will definitely state that it was taken on the oaths of the named jury on a given date. At first it looks a simple matter; the escheator would get the jury together, read the writ to them, and take down the inquisition from their sworn statements. And yet there are difficulties.

The jury are a collection of twelve respectable land-holders; and it is, let us say, the middle of the fourteenth century. How many of them knew Latin? how many of them could read, let alone write? If the facts were complicated, and they often were, how did such a jury come to know them? and how did they manage to come to a common conclusion? A little consideration seems to suggest that

behind the inquisition post mortem there were the materials from which it was prepared in the escheator's office. In point of fact there can have been only two persons in the story who had the information needed, the escheator and the steward or heir of the deceased person. And they had the information because they had the materials on which they could work. And so the process was probably much as follows; the heir, by his steward, made a written statement to the escheator's office, which checked it by the materials kept there. The two parties came to an agreement;[1] the agreed document in proper form was put before this jury and its meaning explained to them in the vulgar tongue; and only in the most exceptional cases did they play more than this formal part. It may be added that on three points an inquisition post mortem is apt to be incorrect, the age of the heir, the nature of a serjeanty, and the list of fees. The first of these blunders may be due to the jury; the others may be the result of carelessness in the escheator's office.

Now if we accept this view that the part played by the jury was comparatively unimportant, we are driven to consider the materials contained in the escheator's office, and the nature of that office. In the first place, it appears that, as escheators held office for short periods, the records of the office must have passed from the retiring escheator to his successor; and as records are not of much use without a staff, which understands them, the staff must also have persisted to some extent; and it is at least a possible hypothesis and almost a necessary one, that there must have been a permanent site for the office, where the growing mass of records could accumulate in safety. But it is not possible to raise these conjectures above the rank of conjectures, because the wasting influence of time has destroyed these archives beyond hope of discovery. A few relics have indeed survived, whose history is so curious as to deserve description. There is in the Public Record Office a series of inquisitions post mortem known as Exchequer inquisitions, copies sent into the Exchequer by escheators as vouchers for their accounts. Among them may be found a few inquisitions for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, taken for the Earl of Pembroke by the escheator of the honour. These documents are intruders in the series, added to it by some archivist, whose energy and sense of logic

[1] For fifteenth century cases, see *Cely Papers*, p. 38; *Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 53, and p. 529.

exceeded his knowledge and discretion. In reality they are part of the papers of the Perrott family; members of that family had been escheators of the honour. The seizure of the papers of Sir John Perrott in the reign of Elizabeth brought the archives of the family into the Exchequer; and energetic logic thrust these waifs into their present home, because they were inquisitions post mortem found in the custody of the Exchequer. They are the only relics of the mass of materials, which must have lain in the offices of the various escheators and formed the materials on which all the inquisitions post mortem taken throughout the country must have been based. Everything else, accounts, drafts, writs, lists and the like seem to have perished.

Turning to the other great local official, the sheriff, there is the same story and the same evidence. The sheriff also had to take and return inquisitions. In particular he was called upon at intervals to enquire into knight's fees. Now any one who will study critically the various enquiries into such fees and connected subjects, preserved in the *Book of Fees* and in *Feudal Aids*, is likely to see certain facts. In the first place, the efficiency of the returns varies from county to county; in the next place, especially in the more elaborate returns, e.g. those for the counties of Lincoln and Lancashire, there is clear evidence that each return is based on a previous return; and lastly the returns, especially those for the enquiry of 1212, show that the sheriffs often failed to understand the writs sent down to them, and merely did their best, so far as they could understand the matter. Nor can it be said that the writs are so clearly drafted as to leave them without excuse for some bewilderment. But the difficulties of the sheriff must have been a trifle to those of the juries. Indeed if any one will look at the writ for the enquiry into knights' fees in Lancashire for 1242, and consider what sort of men made up the juries who made the returns and if he will then read the return, he will either marvel at the knowledge of these undistinguished men, or hastily begin to consider, who the expert was who drew up the return, and what materials he had at his disposal. The more he reflects on these points, the less importance he will attach to the familiar phrase 'the inquest by sworn recognitors' and the greater will be his belief in the importance of the expert official and his materials. Not all inquests were taken by sheriffs; the story of enquiries into the competence and misconduct of

officials is outside my subject. But even there the work of the expert and the nature of his materials need consideration.

And therefore, as in the case of the escheator, so in the case of the sheriff, it is necessary to think of a permanent staff, a permanent store of records and a permanent office. The permanent office is in most cases pretty easy to identify. A very large proportion of the sheriffs had a castle under their control, and in that castle the permanent office was established and its archives kept. As the castle fell into decay, the records were scattered and destroyed; and to-day castles and records seem to have perished with equal completeness. Yet something has remained. Here and there may be found in collections of family papers scraps out of the official papers of the sheriff, quittances of recent date, indentures showing the transfer of certain documents from one sheriff to his successor, and the like. One bit of evidence is more important and bears directly upon the problem of the returns of knights' fees. The admirable canon who drew up the *Liber Memorandorum de Barnewell* not only collected in it matter of great interest and importance, but in one case he told us where he found it. He found it in the Castle of Cambridge, and he copied it into his book that the canons might not in the future have to go to the castle to consult the sheriff's rolls in order to discover their rights and liabilities, if unfair demands were made upon them by the king. And for the happiness of posterity he copied out the whole of the documents which he used, and not only the parts which concerned his own house. Among them he found and copied a roll of all the knights' fees in the linked counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon.

In the face of these rolls it is almost impossible to resist the conclusion that the secret of mediæval inquisitions must be sought in the materials used by the experts who drew them up, and not in the institution of the sworn inquest.

Leaving the materials, we may turn to the expert himself; and here we come to the doubtful ground of human character, the problem which the enthusiastic tiro in the new school of historians desires to avoid, knowing in his conscience that he cannot do so without impoverishing his work. It has already been pointed out that it is the virtue of the official scribe to conceal his own character and opinions; and it is but rarely that he will be carried away by temper or excitement into the abandonment of this virtue. It is said, for instance, that

the secretary of a modern society once laid before his committee a list of the members deceased or resigned in the past year. All was in strict official form save that opposite the name of one deceased member appeared only the laconic note 'In Hell.' In the same spirit the scribe who drew the inquest of 1212 for Lincolnshire, having occasion to speak of the bishop of Lincoln, who had left England at the time of the interdict, calls him ironically 'idem Elias,' meaning 'that prophet' with the obvious omission of a forcible epithet. But these are rare intrusions of temper; and even in the most revolutionary periods of English history such expressions of personal feeling are uncommon in official records, and for that very reason the student of records is bound to keep in his mind this attitude of repression. On the one hand, it is idle to interpret an official document without reference to the political history of the time; on the other, it is even more dangerous to confer upon the scribe a political philosophy which he neither possessed nor could understand. A scribe knows what is in his own mind when he writes a record; there is present to his intelligence the constitutional and institutional system in which he lives; and his contemporaries possess the same equipment. And our danger lies exactly in the fact that this knowledge he can and will suppress; and then posterity with a whole new constitutional and institutional system in its mind comes along and finds the record and starts out to explain it; whence comes trouble.

Of the confusion of thought so arising it would be easy to multiply examples. It is only necessary to study any period whose history has been the source of controversy. The origin and nature of the English church, the Norman conquest of England, the relations between England and Ireland, the separation between England and the United States, the wars of religion in France are all ready to hand as instances. Even in less controversial questions the influence of the personal equation can be studied; and here the error is often hardest to notice. It is so easy to fail to notice that an institution may keep its name and change its nature, may even persist when all force and power have fallen from it. A protean institution like the king's council may be discussed as though it was a permanent and unchanging institution, and the fact obscured that the right of the king to choose his advisers was the point at issue between the king and his opponents in every crisis of history, not only in England but elsewhere. Nor was the opposition

to the king always the same; it might consist of the great tenants-in-chief, or of the members of the royal family, or of the majority of the house of commons, or of a collection of great families. And in the process of the struggle the council might shift and change, divide and re-unite, assume new powers and lose them. But during all the struggle the men who wrote the records would be carefully endeavouring to conceal that anything of importance had ever occurred. The stages of the struggle, which began with the mise of Amiens and ended with the 'Bed-chamber plot' in the reign of Victoria, will never be proclaimed in the records of the 'council.' The scanty records of the mediæval council can only be made to tell their whole story, if those who read them keep clearly in their minds the character and mental equipment of the men who wrote them.

A curious instance of the results that may be reached by neglect of these precautions came under my eyes while attempting to discover how far the chancellor had power to issue letters under the great seal on his own responsibility. In the course of this attempt, from which I came out with precisely the same amount of knowledge with which I entered upon it, I became aware that the received doctrine rested upon a document of the reign of Henry IV. in the year 1406.[1] It is not the kind of document which can easily be understood; and it was drawn up at a time of difficulty, among difficulties which were doubtless well known to the man who wrote it, but were not equally known to all of those who have used it. The king was ill; there was trouble in Wales; and the House of Commons under an active speaker, John Tiptoft, were engaged in putting forward all manner of suggestions for the more abundant government of the realm. As the inheritor of the Lancastrian tradition Henry had, of course, a ready reply. He was worn out and broken down and must have a council to assist him; he must be relieved in his royal person of some of the business. Accordingly an order was drawn up, whereby the council was charged with the general duty of preserving the rights of the crown and seeing to the collection of its revenues, in which tasks they might count on the king's support. In carrying out these duties they are to control and authorize all warrants given to the chancellor, the treasurer, or the keeper of the privy seal; and the chancellor, the

[1] Rolls of Parliament, vol. iii. p. 572.

treasurer, or the keeper of the privy seal, and other officers, are not to act in these matters save by the advice of the council. But in the matters of charters of pardon of crime, grants of benefices actually void, and appointments to offices, the king will do his pleasure.

The men who drafted this order knew what it meant; they knew also what it was intended to mean, not always quite the same thing. We have to guess, to guess the answers to a good many questions, and even to guess the right questions to ask. It is not, therefore, a matter for wonder that every historian who has examined this order should have interpreted it differently, and that some of them should have mistranslated it. The first scholar, so far as I know, who dealt with it was Sir Harris Nicolas, a man who obtained and deserved a great reputation. Like many scholars of his time, Sir Harris Nicolas enjoyed a style which in its finer sentences recalls the stately periods of the Papal chancery. He saw in the order the political wisdom of the king, and commented on it in the following laudatory passage.[1] 'A still more remarkable instance of Henry IV's adherence to constitutional principles, and which is, perhaps, the first parliamentary record of the responsibility of ministers of the crown, occurred a few years afterwards.' It is not needful to set out all his description of the order, but the last sentence is noteworthy. 'The chancellor, treasurer, and keeper of the privy seal were not to grant any charters of pardon, or collations to benefices except with the advice of the council.' The meaning of this last sentence is not clear; but the man who drafted the document would most certainly have declared that whatever Sir Harris Nicolas did mean by it, it was not what he meant. And he might have added that the responsibility of ministers of the crown was not dreamed of in his political philosophy. Sir Thomas Hardy, another great name, seems to come next in the chain of doctors. He was less concerned with constitutional doctrine and the responsibility of ministers than Sir Harris Nicolas, but he was interested in the administration of the chancery. He regarded the document as the expression of a permanent rule of chancery practice applicable at any date, and commented on it accordingly. His style, like that of Sir Harris Nicolas, is a little pontifical.

'That[2] the chancellor had, by virtue of his office, the power of

[1] *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, vol. vj. p. 146.
[2] *Rotulis Chartarum. Introduction*, p. vj, note 4.

granting certain charters besides those of confirmation, without the immediate direction of the king, is evident from a proceeding of the privy council in the year 1406, wherein it was ordained, that the chancellor, treasurer and keeper of the privy seal were not to grant charters of pardon or collations of benefices except with the advice of the council, thereby implying that these were the exceptions.' It is difficult to suggest that Sir Thomas Hardy had looked at the document and misunderstood it; it is equally difficult to suppose that in an unlucky moment he copied Sir Harris Nicolas without looking at the original. Let us choose the most charitable hypothesis, whatever that may be. But in any case the use made of the document would scarcely satisfy the man who drafted it. He would probably complain that his words were mistranslated, and add that in any case it was unreasonable to argue that the chancellor could issue charters on his own authority in some cases, because he is forbidden to do so in others; and he might go on to protest against the process by which conclusions as to the permanent rules of chancery practice were extracted from an order drawn up to meet an emergency.

When Sir Harris Nicolas and Sir Thomas Hardy nod in concert, it is hard to keep awake. Only men with wicked minds could fail to nod in concert. The author[1] of *The Early Years of Edward III* in discussing the ordinances of 1338, found herself compelled to deal with the powers of the chancellor. 'Already,' she says, speaking of the year 1338, 'were charters of confirmation of liberties issued as matters of course . . . but certain other charters were also obtainable from the chancellor.' And then in a note comes the inevitable reference to Sir Thomas Hardy's note already mentioned. Once more an ordinance of 1406 is used as a definite statement of chancery practice nearly a century earlier. And Sir Harris Nicolas and ministerial responsibility have fallen into the background.

But the end of the story is not yet reached. We have still to see what use Mr. Wylie made of it. He has at least one great advantage over Sir Harris Nicolas and Sir Thomas Hardy; he had read this document carefully, and with one exception he has translated the French quite correctly. It is his imagination that has led him into strange ways; he has seen in this ordinance the proof of a great consti-

[1] *The Early Years of Edward III*, by Dorothy Hughes, M.A. A very useful piece of work.

tutional victory won by the House of Commons over the king. It would seem that the king was not endeavouring to lighten his own burdens, to get himself discharged (*deporte*) from part of his duties; rather the Commons had won their battle; the king gave way, was personally 'removed' (*deporte*) from all power. The heading of the page speaks of the 'abdication' of the king; and the fact that the king retained in his own hands all pardons for crimes and all appointments to offices is only mentioned as a matter of minor interest. Mr. Wylie's knowledge of his subject is beyond praise or blame. And yet would the man who wrote that document have been content with this strange construction of it? It is unnecessary to discuss Mr. Baldwin's uses of this document in detail, as he has simply followed Mr. Wylie.

One thing is clear enough. Sir Harris Nicolas, Sir Thomas Hardy and Mr. Wylie cannot all be right. The wise policy of a constitutional king, the tame surrender of a weak ruler to an encroaching house of commons, and a permanent rules of chancery practice cannot all be found in one brief document. Nor, indeed, could any writer have tried to find them there, had he not fixed his eyes so intently on the writing as to completely forget the writer. It may be said that the method of study here suggested is in many cases impossible; that the writer and his materials evade us, and escape even conjecture. But to say this is to affirm that history cannot be written from documents at all. Now the very importance of records lies in the fact that only from them can we reconstruct the institutional framework in which men work and live. If we limit our observation to this framework, we miss half our subject, and the most inspiring and interesting side. If we take no heed of the framework, we shall never understand the way in which things happen, and shall be always seeing in history a series of catastrophes, a procession of great men on the throne and good men to the scaffold. Until we can fit the men and the framework together, we can never understand the story that history has to tell; the story of the interaction between men, with their own characters and passions, and the institutions left to them by their forefathers, while the earth and its fullness or emptiness supplies the stage whereon the story is told. Whether the story is of progress or the reverse, those may say who know. At any rate most children can now deal with those vulgar fractions which a skilled mathematician in the 12th century pronounced to be a subject almost passing the wit of man.

A PAGE OF INDIAN HISTORY IN 1707-1720.

FROM AN APPARENTLY UNIQUE ARABIC MANUSCRIPT IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

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Foreword.

THE harrowing spectacle presented by the events which took place in India in 1707-1720 A.D. has probably no parallel in the history of mankind. The decadence of an Empire is generally marked by a state of anarchy among the subject races, and of profound divisions among the different members of the reigning dynasties. Such has been the case of the Empires of Greeks and Romans, in Europe, and of Sāsānians, Byzantines, Arabs, and Mongols, in Asia. In 1707 all India, save the Deccan, had been conquered by the Mogul Aurangzīb, who more than upheld the tradition sanctioned by the famous Tīmūrian Akbar, some hundred years earlier. After his death, however, brother began to slay or blind his brother, and uncle his nephews or cousins, and *vice versâ*, with a degree of persistent cruelty sometimes unknown even in the dark annals of the history of the Eastern Empires. It is with the succession of these tragic happenings that the following pages will deal.

A more or less complete summary of this momentous phase of the evolution of India may be found in the works of Irādat Khān Wāza, of Danishmand, the anonymous *Tārīkhi Bahādur Shāhi*, the *'Ibrat Nāmah* of Muḥammad Ḳāsim, the *Tazkira i Chaghatāi* of Muḥammad Hādi, the *Tārīkh i Chaghatāi* of Muḥammad Shafī', the *Tārīkh i Hindi* of Rustam 'Ali, the *Jauhari Samsām* of Ṣādiḳi, Brigg's *Siyar al-Muta'khkhirīn*, the *Khulāṣat at-Tawārīkh*, and especially in the *Muntakhab al-Lubāb* of Khāfi

Khān, translated by J. Dowson in the seventh volume of the "History of India as told by its own Historians," pp. 207-533, which in many respects is the best of all.

The author of the following pages: Muḥammad Mu'min b-Muḥammad Ḳāsim *al-Jazā'iri* as-Shīrāzi deserves equal, if not more, credence than that given to the majority of the above authors, Khāfi Khān included. To our knowledge nothing precise is known about him apart from the scattered biographical notes that can be gleaned in his work entitled *Khizānat al-Khayāl* or "Treasury of Fancy" preserved in Arab MS. 398 of the John Rylands Library.

Although Jazā'iri by origin (fol. 2[a]), the author was born in Shīrāz (*ibid.*), and travelled extensively in his native country (ff. 56[a] and 58[b]) and in the Ḥijāz (fol. 69[a]). He went to India towards the middle of the reign of Aurangzīb, who appointed him a tutor to the most promising of his grandchildren: Jahāndār Mu'izz ad-Dīn, son of Ḳutb ad-Dīn Bahādur Shah. After the death of Aurangzīb, Bahādur Shah bestowed upon him the *manṣab* of a "hazāri". At the death of Bahādur Shah who had reigned five years, his pupil Jahāndār Shah succeeded to the throne, and the author received a *manṣab* of three "hazāris" and two hundred horsemen. He stayed altogether twenty-two years with Bahādur Shah (fol. 177[a]). After the murder of his pupil and protector by Farrukh Siyar, the author was dispossessed of all his fortune, and his house looked, as he puts it, more empty than the palm of his hand (fol. 192[b]). He could not have been alive long after 1720 A.D.

The MS. (which so far as we are aware is unique) is written by at least four different contemporary hands, both in Naskhi and in Ta'līḳ. On the title-page is a *waḳf* of the book, apparently in the handwriting of the author, to his children and his brothers, and after them to their descendants, dated 17 Ṣafar 1131/1718; its Naskhi script is different from that of any other hand found in the MS., and appears to point to a man somewhat weakened by age.

The book seems also to have been written under its author's supervision, from a rough draft made by himself, which had lost some leaves. On the margin of the last page (fol. 373[a]) there is the following inscription: "The book has been read before its author and corrected by him . . . at the beginning of Rabi' i in the year 1133/1720". Further, on the margins of many other pages the expression "the

reading has reached here" occurs very frequently, and doubtless refers to the above statement.

Jazā'iri's work deals with moral and ethical subjects, and is illustrated by stories and pious utterances from all periods. It is written in rhymed prose, and has no divisions of any kind apart from some strange headings mostly in red on the margins or in the body of the text. The only historical section that it contains is that found on leaves 177-198 headed "*Maḳāmah Sulṭāniyah*". As the author's style is very florid and characterised by a remarkable prolixity, we have restricted our translation to historical details, and even of these we only give an abridged version. We have, however, been careful not to omit any detail which may throw light on the point at issue.

From the foregoing remarks it is evident that the author was in the privileged position of being able to know thoroughly what he was writing about, especially what concerns his royal pupil Jahāndār Shah. We have, therefore, every reason to believe him and accept as accurate the dates that he gives, unless from other sources corroborated by the general course of events, we are forced to discount the trend of his narration. We will give one instance in which the author differs in his chronology from some other historians mentioned above :

It is generally believed that Jahāndār Shah was murdered on the 16th Muḥarram 1124 A.H. (Khāfi Khān, *ibid.*, vii., 445, etc.). This year is accepted by almost all the modern historians (cf. S. Lane-Poole's *The Moghul Emperors of Hindustan*, p. xxxv., and his *Mohammedan Dynasties*, p. 328, etc.). Our author, however, affirms (fol. 186^b) that his pupil was murdered on the 16th Muḥarram 1125 A.H. 1124 A.H. begins on the 9th of February, 1712 A.D., and 1125 on the 28th of January, 1713. The date is in the MS. written in letters and not in figures, and I believe it is more correct than that given by Khāfi. The inexactitude might have arisen from the following considerations :

Khāfi (*ibid.*, vii., 428) gives Bahādur Shah a reign of four years and two months and assigns his death to 8 Rabī' i, 1123 A.H., or 15 April, 1711 A.D., and on p. 446 (*ibid.*) he states that Farrukh Siyar ordered that the reign of Jahāndār Shah should be considered as an adverse possession, and that his own reign should date from 1 Rabī' i, 1123 A.H., or April 8, 1711 A.D. So far the historian is

consistent in his dates. His difficulty will begin when he will have to harmonise the above statement with the events of the reign of Farrukh Siyar. On p. 471 (*ibid.*) Dowson is obliged to add a corrective note to Khāfi's statement in connection with the "ninth" year of the Emperor and adds "A ninth year is manifestly wrong, and inconsistent with Khāfi Khān's own statement that the length of the reign was six years and four months". Adding the eleven months of the reign of Jahāndār, which he tells us were officially reckoned as part of the reign, the "eighth" year would be reached. Dowson, however, fails to realise that the error of Khāfi arises from the fact that he makes Jahāndār die a year earlier.

That the year fixed by our author for the death of Jahāndār is the only right one is borne out by the fact that the *Tazkira i Chaghatāi* (p. 428) states that Bahādur Shah died in the spring of 1124 A.H., a date corroborated also by the *Siyar ul Muta'akhkhirīn* (edit. Briggs, p. 29). The year, therefore, 1124 A.H. assigned by modern historians to Jahāndār Shah's death is wrong, and should be, as our author states 1125 A.H. The year 1124 is that of Bahādur Shah's death.

We give below a few more examples of current statements that have to be modified in the light of the present document :

Khāfi Khān (vii., 392) says that Jahāndār Shah was in Thatta, at the death of Aurangzīb ; our author (fol. 179a) asserts that he was in Multān. Khāfi Khān (vii., 400) pretends that A'zam Shah was killed by an arrow that hit him on the forehead ; our author (fol. 180a) affirms that he was killed by a cannon-ball that hit him on the eye-brow. Khāfi Khān (vii., 428) writes that Bahādur Shah reigned four years and two months ; our author (fol. 180b) more correctly suggests five years (perhaps, however, not complete). Khāfi Khān (vii., 434) contends that Jahāndār Shah dispatched Ḥasan Khān, the son of his foster-brother, to fight Farrukh Siyar ; our author (fol. 182b) states that it was Murād Khān, the foster-brother himself, that was dispatched. There are also many other differences between the two writers in the matter of the strength of the armies engaged in battles, and of the different incidents that preceded or followed them, which can easily be noticed by any one who cares to compare the two accounts.

The New Document.

(Fol. 177b.) Jahāndār Shah was the best king that the dynasty of Tīmur produced. His father had taken great care of his education, loved him tenderly, and appointed him his successor. (Fol. 178a.) During the reign of his grandfather he was given the governorship of Thulthān, an office after which his brothers had sought in vain. After a successful administration he was also given the direction of the affairs of Multān, Sind, Bakkar, and Thattah. (Fol. 178b.) God gave him at this time beautiful and intelligent children, and made him possessor of considerable wealth and of a great many damsels, one of whom, La'l, was of an exquisite beauty and charm.

(Fol. 179a.) He was in Multān when the news of his grandfather's death reached him, with the intelligence of the succession to the throne of his uncle A'zam Shah, and of the latter's gifts to wazīrs and amīrs and his departure with his children and grandchildren to Akbarābād.[1] This news caused him much trouble and anxiety, and he began active military preparations. His father who was then at Kābul marched towards Lahore.

Sultan Mu'azzam,[2] after lavishing gifts on his troops (fol. 179b), left Lahore for Dihli,[3] and thence proceeded to Akbarābād. He had then with him his four sons: Jahāndār Shah, 'Azīm as-Shān, Rafī' as-Shān, and Jahān Shah. His army numbered more than 100,000 men, horse and foot; but God only knew the number of his *rajjālahs*.

The two armies were separated by two *marḥalahs* only, when A'zam Shah said: "I could defeat the army of my opponent in one twinkling of the eye were it not for that ram, Mu'izz ud-Dīn,[4] who will delay my victory for two hours". After a fierce encounter with artillery, arrows, spears and swords, the cavalry of both sides dismounted and fought with daggers. The battle lasted all the day, and about seventy amīrs were slain from both sides. The number of the wounded God only knows, but the killed numbered 12,000, while the number of animals destroyed: elephants, horses, camels, and cattle, was not below that of the killed men. Most of the latter

[1] *I.e.*, Agrah.

[2] Jahāndār's father.

[3] The author constantly calls Dihli *dār al-Khilāf* "the house of discord" in contrast to *dār al-Khilāfa* "the house of caliphate".

[4] Jahāndār.

were from the side of A'zam Shah, who also lost his two eldest sons : Bidār Bakht, and Wālājāh. His soldiers took to flight, but out of natural shame he remained on his elephant (fol. 180[a]) with his youngest son, till a cannon-ball killed the driver. After the extraordinary bravery that he displayed, he was killed by a large cannon-ball that hit him on the eye-brow, in the afternoon ; and he died at sunset. A wicked amīr went to the litter of the elephant and cut off his head which he brought to the Sultan, who wept bitterly over it.

After having thus ended the fight with his brother younger than himself, the Sultan bestowed honours on the heir-apparent, Muḥammad Mu'izz ud-Dīn, and called him Jahāndār Shah, while he also called Muḥammad 'Azīm : 'Azīm as-Shān, and Rafi' al-Ḳadr : Rafi' as-Shān, and Khujastah Akhtar : Jahān Shāh. He, further, rewarded each one of them with a *manṣab* of thirty " hazāris " and 30,000 horsemen.

(Fol. 180[b].) Then he left Akbarābād with all his troops, his children and grandchildren, to go to Ḥaidarābād, in order to fight his youngest brother, Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh. After a delay of a whole year he reached this last city, and when at a distance of two parasangs from it he ordered Rafī' as-Shān and Jahān Shaḥ to go forth and fight him with some soldiers. They worsted him and brought him wounded to the Sultan, and he expired in his presence. The Sultan returned then to Akbarābād, and thence to Lahore, before which he pitched his tents with his family and his soldiers ; but after some months he passed away. The duration of his caliphate was five years, while his age was between 70 and 80.

After his death an unfortunate and bitter disunion sprang up among his four sons. 'Azīm as-Shān, however, commanded twice as many amīrs, nobles and soldiers, as all the others combined, and he also possessed considerable wealth ; but between him and the amīr of amīrs, Dhu l-Fiḳār, son of the wazīr Asad Khān, there was great enmity. The amīr, " not for his love for 'Ali but for his hatred for Mu'āwiah " incited his brothers to fight him jointly (fol. 181[a]), and devised for them the plan of killing 'Azīm and his amīrs, and of dividing the Empire among themselves. They listened to him, appointed him their umpire, and decided to do his bidding and to divide the Empire among themselves in equal shares.

Dhu l-Fiḳār pitched his tent in the camp of Jahāndār Shah, but

he used also to repair frequently to Rafī' as-Shān and Jahān Shah, and brought them from the fortress of Lahore weapons and money by means of which they were able to muster a goodly number of soldiers. Eventually each brother went with his troops and camped near the soldiers of 'Azīm in a sheltered place not far from the walls and the ramparts of the city. Under the cover of this place the soldiers began military operations with artillery and arrows. A fierce battle ensued, that lasted seven nights and eight days. The soil was reddened with blood, which covered also the Sūḳ al-Ḥammām.[1] A large cannon-ball hit 'Azīm and killed him, and he was brought on the litter of an elephant to Jahāndār Shah. The latter took also 'Azīm's eldest son, Muḥammad Karīm, as prisoner, and on the advice of Dhu l-Fiḳār, he ordered him to be slain. The Amīr of Amīrs took then possession of all the treasures of 'Azīm in order to divide them among the remaining brothers together with the division of the kingdom.

(Fol. 181b.) In dividing the kingdom and the spoils among themselves the brothers exchanged bitter words with one another; thereupon the youngest brother wished to imprison the wazīr (Dhu l-Fiḳār), and the second brother accused him of treachery. This caused the wazīr to discontinue his friendly dealings with them, and when they called him to divide the spoils, he answered that the division of the kingdom should have precedence of that of the spoils; and after some harsh words they spoke to him, he quoted to them the Arabic saying: "There is no bickering between me and Ḳais; between us there is only piercing of hearts and slashing off of heads". This led to quarrel and war with artillery, arrows, and spears till the evening.

Jahāndār Shah pitched his tent at a mile's distance from that of the wazīr, but was not quite ready yet to give battle. Jahān Shah was well aware of this, and gave orders to advance. Jahāndār Shah, hearing of this, left quickly his tent and mounted his elephant. Jahān Shah's troops dashed at him, but he managed to escape. He was further pursued by the troops of Rafī' as-Shān, who had been informed in time of his escape. Jahāndār Shah, however, managed to reach safely the tent of the wazīr, who had all the time been anxious as to the Sultan's safety.

[1] *I.e.* the Bath Street.

The two together decided on some plans, and when they heard that the cavalry and infantry of Jahān Shah were busy plundering (fol. 182a) the treasures of 'Azīm while there was only a handful of soldiers left to guard him, they dispatched against him an amīr with a large escort, who surrounded him and rushed at him all of a sudden. They worsted him, and slew his beautiful eldest son, Farkhanda Akhtar. As to himself they brought him in a dying condition on an elephant to the Sultan and the wazīr, who ordered that his jugular vein should be cut off with a knife. This was not the first bone broken in Islam !

In the evening Jahāndār Shah went into his tent, and was surrounded by thousands of soldiers. He informed Rafi' as-Shān of the death of 'Azīm, and in the early morning he mounted his elephant and ordered his numerous army to march to the attack of Rafi' whose *morale* was much weakened by the previous events, and whose army was much inferior in number. Seeing that all was lost and that he would be overwhelmed, the latter dismounted from his elephant and charged the enemy on foot with his unsheathed sword. He was slain, however, and his body brought to Jahāndār Shah, who by his last opponent's death felt that he had no more competitors to fear. He showed, then, great generosity to his followers, and promoted 'Ali Murād Khān,[1] a foster-brother, who had been his wazīr, to the office of the commander-in-chief of the army. On this account enmity sprang up between him and the old wazīr (Dhu l-Fiḳar), who bided his time and looked for an opportunity to avenge himself.

'Azīm as-Shān had another son younger than the one who had been killed, called Farrukh Siyar, governor of a country near Bengal and residing in the city of 'Azīmābād.[2] The Sultan desired to kill him, and for this purpose he appointed his son A'azz ad-Dīn Shah governor of that province, under the command and direction of his commander-in-chief, Murād Khān, his foster brother, with orders to the wazīr to take from the fortress of Akbarābād 400,000 dīnars with which to muster an army for the onslaught on 'Azīmābād.

When they had departed the Sultan bade an amīr (fol. 183a) take the coffins of Sultan Mu'azzam and of his children and grandchildren

[1] The *Tārikh i Irādat Khān* (Elliot and Dowson's "History of India," vii., 558) calls him: Kokaltash Khān.

[2] *I.e.* Patnah.

to Dihli, the house of the Caliphate, or rather the house of disunion and discord, in order to bury them there. Then he himself left Lahore for Dihli along with his amīrs and troops, and entered the fortress of the city and its golden citadel. He distributed much money and innumerable gifts of jewels and precious stones to his followers, each according to his rank. On the *diwān* days he used to sit on the golden and very famous peacock throne, worth nine thousand times thousand *dinars*, which was set up by his forefather Akbar. A time of tranquillity followed, which the Sultan spent mostly in pleasures in the company of women, particularly his favourite courtesan of whom mention has been made above.

Shortly after the Sultan's spies brought the intelligence that his nephew Farrukh Siyar had raised the banner of revolt in 'Azīmābād. (Fol. 183b.) He had gathered round him the *Dihḳān* sayids who had established themselves in twelve villages, styled *Bārha*, which means "the twelve". They were under the command of two brothers: Ḥasan 'Ali Khān, the elder brother, and Ḥusain 'Ali Khān. Farrukh Siyar nominated these two brave, intrepid warriors, the first to the rank of a wazīr, and the second to that of the commander-in-chief of his army; then he left 'Azīmābād for Akbarābād.

When all this reached the ears of Jahāndār Shah he was incensed against his wazīr, who, as he now heard, had not delivered any money to his son A'azz ad-Dīn at Akbarābād. He immediately sent strict orders to the governors of Akbarābād to deliver the money to A'azz ad-Dīn; which they did. He then made hurried preparations for the campaign, and left with 30,000 men, horse and foot; and on his side Farrukh Siyar advanced with 50,000. When the two armies drew near each other, they began to fight fiercely all the day. In the night, at the instigation of the Sayids, many men from the camp of A'azz ad-Dīn were won over to the party of Farrukh Siyar, whose wazīr forced the former to flee to Akbarābād, followed by the hostile army and the Sayids.

(Fol. 184a.) When Jahāndār Shah heard of his son's flight, he opened the treasures of the Empire, and spent freely money and jewels with *ratls* and *manns*, until he exhausted everything. He then went out of Dihli with an army of 150,000 horse, and 120,000 infantry, not counting the orderlies of the amīrs. By means of forced

marches he reached quickly Akbarābād where he set his camp near the river, and where he was joined by his son A'azz ad-Dīn.

In haste he got ready boats and boatmen for the crossing of the river, while the hostile army, about 100,000 strong, was reaching the opposite side ; but having espied a good ford at a distance of seven miles, this army speedily marched in that direction and endeavoured to cross the river there. On the advice of his foster-brother the Sultan wished to attack the enemy while crossing, but the wazīr dissuaded him from this course. When the enemy had crossed the two armies were not distant from each other more than two parasangs. Now most of the soldiers of the Sultan had sent all their belongings inside the city as a preparation for the battle which would be taking place in the morning. On that day, however, a torrential rain fell, which rendered any combat wellnigh impossible ; and upon the strength that there would be no fighting on that day the Sultan's troops began to pour into the city.

(Fol. 184b.) When two-thirds of the day had passed, the clouds suddenly moved away, and the sun shone. On the Sultan's side, when he himself was in his tent, when the chief amīr was having his rest, when the general of the army was away from his post, when the Sultan's retinue were absent, when most of his soldiers were in town, and when finally the arms of those present in the camp were laid down, the hostile army advanced to the attack. Taken by surprise the Sultan went out of his tent and mounted his elephant, and at the sound of trumpets and the beating of drums a fierce battle and hand-to-hand fighting ensued. The amīr of the amīrs, Dhu l-Fiḳār Khān, was with his men standing near the field of battle, resolving not to unsheathe his sword until after the foster-brother had been killed.

(Fol. 185a.) 'Ali Murād Khān, the commander-in-chief of the Sultan's army, was opposed, on the enemy's side, by Ḥusain 'Ali Khān. Murād Khān's men defeated Ḥusain 'Ali Khān and inflicted severe wounds on him. The spies gave out that he had expired, and the Sultan who received also this piece of intelligence congratulated his men on their victory. In the meantime Ḥasan 'Ali, the elder brother, resorted to strategems, and while the Sultan's troops were devoting themselves to joy and congratulations, he pounced on them from the rear with an army that he had secretly and quickly mustered.

In the bloody *mêlée* that ensued 'Ali Murād Khān was slain, and a frightful panic seized his army. The soldiers took to flight, company by company, and the Sultan was left to fight in the field of battle alone. Being unable to repair to his wazīr on account of the hostile army that separated them, he took to flight in the nick of time, towards sunset, just before he was being captured and killed. (Fol. 185b.) He escaped, and in entering the city he sought refuge in the house of one of his faithful adherents. The next morning he left this house in disguise in company of five men, and after a forced march he reached Dihli in three days. As to the amir of amīrs (Dhu l-Fiḳār) he remained with his troops in the field of battle till the fourth part of the night had passed; then he sent messengers to the Sultan asking for help. When this was not forthcoming he decamped, and accompanied by some men, he proceeded quickly to Dihli.

When the unfortunate Sultan heard that the amīr of amirs was in Dihli, he repaired to him and solicited his protection. The amīr of amirs wished to give it to him, but his father dissuaded him from this course on the strength of a missive that he had received from Farrukh Siyar, in which the latter had promised on oath that he would inflict no injury on his son, and that he would leave him in the office of the *wizārah*. Father and son, therefore, locked up the Sultan, and delivered him to the men of Farrukh Siyar. In this they covered themselves with shame!

The Sultan was, therefore, captured and brought to the fortress where he was incarcerated in a dark and narrow place, called "Fortress of the Cloud". When Farrukh Siyar heard the news of the Sultan's imprisonment, he left Akbarābād for Dihli, close to which he pitched his tent. He then summoned the amīr of amīrs and his father to his presence, and after having embraced them he began to play for a while with their beards; and full of smiles he left them and went away, and commanded his servants to revile and afterwards throttle the amīr of amīrs for the murder of his father and brother. This they did, and Farrukh Siyar went and pierced him with a spear, and he was dragged outside with a rope attached to his neck. Then he dispatched some rough men to kill the Sultan, his uncle, in prison, and after much abuse they strangled him and slashed off his head (fol. 186a) which they brought back along with his dead body on an elephant.

Early next morning he rose up and proceeded with great pomp to the city, while before him was placed the corpse of his uncle on an elephant, and his severed head hanging on a spear, in order that the people might know the truth of what had taken place. As to the body of the amīr of amīrs it was hanging naked, and feet upwards, on the tail of another elephant coming immediately after him. When he reached the fortress, he ordered the soldiers to throw down the bodies in a naked state, and to place the head of his martyred uncle on his chest. He entered then the palace and gave himself up to pleasures.

Soon afterwards he imprisoned A'azz ad-Dīn, 'Ali Tabār, and his own brother Hūmayūn Bakht, son of 'Azīm as-Shān, and blinded them with hot iron. Three days later he ordered the body of the Sultan to be buried in the grave of his forefathers, after having been washed, shrouded, and carried on a wooden litter; as to the corpse of the wazīr it was thrown into a pit and interred without further ceremony in the cemetery of the strangers. If such is the end of Sultans and amīrs, what would the sad lot of the common people be! (Fol. 186b.) The Sultan was murdered on the 16th Muḥarram, in 1125 A.H., at the age of 45, after a reign of only eleven months.

(*The author speaks here of his personal sorrow at the murder of the Sultan, his pupil and protector, and reproduces a long elegy that he wrote in his honour. On fol.* 191b *he tells how Farrukh Siyar whom he constantly calls al-Bāghi "the oppressor," imprisoned and massacred all the nobles among the partisans of his uncle, or plundered their possessions. In this last category the author counts himself and says that everything he had was taken from him, and his house looked "more empty than the palm of a hand," but adds that the sting is taken from a calamity that is common to all. He then dilates on the bad administration of "the oppressor" and narrates at some length the wrongs inflicted by him on all classes of the community.*)

(Fol. 193a.) Helped by the Sayids Farrukh Siyar began to reign supremely, but his wazīr and his brother who had become amīr of amīrs exceeded all limits in their desire for plunder. (Fol. 193b.) On one occasion "the oppressor" made them a grant of three thousand times thousand *dīnars*, but this did not satisfy their unsatiable cupidity, and they intensified their forcible appropriations, and in this iniquitous

way they became possessors of considerable wealth. This, however, incensed " the oppressor " against them (fol. 194a), but his endeavours to extort from them their illicitly acquired wealth proved fruitless. They took the reins of the government from him and, to his disgust, he found himself like a puppet in their hands. He sought advice in this matter from his faithful friends, and intimated to them that he intended to resort to violent means ; they, however, dissuaded him from this unwise course, and emphasised to him the fact that any man wishing to plunder another stronger than himself runs the risk of being plundered in his turn ; and they advised him moderation and patience. Eventually some people intervened in the matter, and formal peace was established between the two parties on condition (fol. 194b) that the wazīr should not promote and dismiss people, nor spend and receive money, without the knowledge of the Sultan, and that his brother should leave forthwith Dihli for the Deccan. This was agreed to.

The wazīr's brother left Dihli for the Deccan with great pomp and accompanied by an army, but the Sultan wrote to the *rājs* of the Deccan and to the khāns of its Afghāns exhorting them to wage war on him, and promising them the governorship of the province after his death. This kindled the fire of unrest in the province against him for three years, but he managed somehow to get the upper hand over it.

After the departure of the wazīr's brother, the Sultan never ceased to disparage and traduce the wazīr himself, and to abuse him openly, and at any time the latter came to wait upon him, he used to enter his harem. (Fol. 195a.) This exasperated the wazīr, who considered himself free from all previous agreements. Every quarrel starts with harsh words, and every fire begins with a sparkle. The wazīr, therefore, intrigued with officials and others, and massed an army of more than 20,000 horse and 20,000 foot, and wrote to his brother that " the oppressor " had broken his pledges, and bade him come with all speed to Dihli. This news greatly upset the amīr, who picked up a young man of doubtful origin as a Pretender, and contended that he was a cousin to the Sultan and more fit than he for the throne. It is good to oppose the worst with the bad !

Then he patched up a truce with the Afghāns and the *rājs*, and making use of the public revenue for the purpose, he even induced some *rājs* to espouse his cause, and left the Deccan with an army of 60,000 horse and foot. When the news of his advance reached the

ears of "the oppressor," he was greatly perturbed, and a friendly *rāj* advised him to leave the fortress and go out of the city. This he stupidly refused to do, and the *rāj* went then to his country.

"The oppressor" devised the plan of summoning the wazīr and making all sorts of good promises backed up by oath; he also told him that if that young pretender was delivered to him no harm would befall him. (Fol. 195b.) In the meantime the amīr had advanced and camped with his army outside the city, and on the second day of his arrival, he proceeded to the fortress with a considerable number of troops. "The oppressor" rose up, welcomed him magnificently, embraced him, bade him sit near him, and lavished kindness on him. Then the amīr poured forth his grievances and told the Sultan that "he (the Sultan) had lost his bricks in the Summer," the only time they were of any use; thereupon, the Sultan took off his robe set up with precious jewels and made a present of it to the amīr. The latter went out, however, leaving no doubt in "the oppressor's" mind as to his intentions. "The oppressor" spent a frightful night and wished to leave the fortress in the morning under the pretext of going out hunting.

The Wazīr was informed of this, and rushed with numerous troops to the fortress. More than 20,000 men, Muslims and infidels, followed him there till the middle of the day and bolted all the doors of escape. In a state of despair "the oppressor" entered his harem, ordered all the inner doors to be locked, and remained there till the morning. (Fol. 196a.) Then he wrote a letter to one of his intimate friends beseeching him to save his life. This, however, was too late, for the fortress and the streets of the town were crammed with troops: Sayids, Hindus, and Afghans. The mob began to pelt these with bricks, earth, and stones, and the people harassed them with guns and arrows from every house, and informed of this fact the supporters of "the oppressor". Thousands of these gathered together and attacked with fury the forces of the brother of the wazīr, but with no avail, and their frenzied efforts to pierce the ring of troops surrounding the fortress having proved fruitless, they dispersed in disorder.

Meanwhile, other events were taking place in the fortress. Here the wazīr gave orders to force the doors of the harem; "the oppressor's" womenfolk were slapped and some slightly wounded, and

he was dragged from the laps of his mother and his wife and pulled from the hands of his daughter, crying for mercy, in fetters, with bare feet, bare head, torn pockets, and ripped shirt. He was then floored down, blinded with hot iron (fol. 169[b]) and thrown into the room where his uncle had been incarcerated. Everyone reaps what he sows !

In that very day they took from prison his cousin, Rafi' ad-Darajāt, son of Rafi' as-Shān, and they installed him with pomp on the throne. The public treasury was thrown open, and gifts of all kinds were distributed to high and low officials. The wazīr took his abode in a magnificent fruit garden in the fortress, and gave himself up to pleasures and amusements. He found a highly skilled and shrewd procuress in the person of an old woman who did marvelsfor him.

As to the wretched Farrukh Siyar, he remained two months in gaol suffering acute pains from his wounded body and ulcerated eyes ; he was roughly treated by cruel keepers, who hung him on a pole, head downwards, throttled him, and pierced his heart and his wind-pipe with a dagger. He was then dragged out, exposed to the public eye (fol. 197[a]) and buried in the cemetery of his fathers and forefathers. He thus met with the same fate as that meted out by him to his uncle, his brother, and his cousins. The duration of the reign of Farrukh Siyar was six years.

A month after the murder of Farrukh Siyar, one of his cousins named Nikū Siyar, who was imprisoned in the fortress of Akbarābād, stirred up and helped himself to the throne, and threw open the doors of the treasures to insure his success. Many people responded to his call, and this roused the wazīr and the *Dihḳāns* to fight him, but an incident put a momentary stop to their endeavours : Rafi' ad-Darajāt became suddenly ill and died. They then took from prison his brother Rafi' ad-Daulah, son of Rafi' as-Shān, placed him on the throne of the Empire, and went forth to fight. The usurper fortified himself in the citadel, and they besieged him there, won the heart of his men by bribes, and captured him. Rafi' ad-Daulah had in the meantime become ill and died. The wazīr sent then, from Akbarābād to Dihli, his youngest brother with a considerable number of troops who (fol. 197[b]) delivered from prison Muḥammad Shāh, son of Jahān Shāh, and brought him to the wazīr, who installed him on the throne.

Soon after the news filtered through that the amīr 'Azīm as-Shān had raised the standard of revolt in the Deccan, and massacred the relatives of the wazīr. The two brothers then agreed on the following plan : that the elder should return to the city of the caliphate with some troops, and that the younger should proceed to the Deccan with the Sultan, the amīrs, and the troops, to wreak vengeance on the usurper.

The general of the army, however, conspired with the leaders of the partisans of the Sultan to kill the brother of the wazīr unawares. This was done, and the Sultan rode accompanied by all the army, horse and foot, and massacred all his relatives, put to flight his troops, plundered his wealth, and cut off his body to pieces. Then the Sultan promoted the general to the high office of the *wizārah*, and distributed money and granted offices to notables, each one according to his rank.

When the wazīr heard of the murder of his brother, he made haste to enter Dihli, distributed his wealth to the troops, took from prison Ibrāhīm Shāh, son of Rafī' as-Shān, and installed him on the throne. In twenty days he mustered an army of 80,000, horse and foot, and left Dihli to oppose his enemy. He was, however, defeated after a pitched battle. The army of the *dihkāns* ran away, and both the wazīr and Ibrāhīm Shāh were made prisoners ; and the former was brought to Muḥammad Shāh, in fetters, bare-footed, wounded and bare-headed. The Sultan came then to Dihli, and placed the wazīr in the very room, dark and narrow, in which Jahāndār Shāh and Farrukh Siyar had been placed, and left him to die a natural death ; but after a while, out of their fear of his machinations, people poisoned and strangled him.

The new wazīr, however, did not enjoy his office long, for he soon died from stomach troubles, and his perfidy against the two brothers and the Sayids brought him but short happiness. Every one is requited according to his deeds !

NEW LIGHT ON AN OLD ENGLISH PRESBYTERIAN AND BOOKMAN: THE REVEREND THOMAS HALL, B.D., 1610-1665.

By FREDERICK J. POWICKE, M.A., Ph.D.

A MODERN visitor to the little semi-suburban town of King's Norton, six miles S.W. of Birmingham, will hardly credit the popular legend that letters were once addressed to Birmingham *near* King's Norton. But in the seventeenth century there seems to have been no great disparity between the two in point of population, and the King's North Town had at least the distinction of having been a royal manor from, or before, the date of Domesday Book (1086). It was the north town in respect of Bromsgrove, six miles south, to which parish it—as well as Wythall and Moseley—pertained.

Its church (St. Nicholas) was, therefore, but a chapel of ease to Bromsgrove, and remained so till 1846. Architecturally the church is famous for its spire whose beauty, with that of the tower, redeems the rest from comparative insignificance. Perhaps, however, the visitor will turn a more curious eye upon the queer patch-work of a building which stands at the N.E. of the church and is called King Edward's School—a building whose gabled second story suggests the remnant of a Tudor house, while the lower story in red brick is suggestive of a truncated cottage. The two parts are plainly not of the same date; and the former—it is said—was superadded to the latter—the original school—in order to accommodate the library of the Rev. Thomas Hall, master and minister during all the troubled years of the interregnum. It is with this remarkable man that we are here concerned. By his own request he was buried among the common people in the churchyard, but no trace of his grave has been found; and there is no reference to him in the Church Register except the entry of his burial. Yet as a schoolmaster and tutor he made the town known throughout the land; as a minister he held a position of influence in the midlands

second only to that of Baxter, and as a writer he won for himself a wide popularity—among Puritans at least. Would it be fair to say that the overflowing tide of reaction which lifted Charles II. and the Bishops to their "own" again, wiped out his name as it did that of many another Puritan? It became the fashion to make-believe that the like of him had never existed. At any rate, his one surviving memorial is a collection of books which bears his name in a special compartment of the Birmingham Public Free Library.

But it so happens that some interesting details about him and his Library have come to light in what purports to be an authentic biography. This somehow came into the hands of Richard Baxter, and has been lying unnoticed among the Baxter MSS. of the Williams's Library for more than 200 years. What was known of him to Calamy came—it would seem—for the most part from the Rev. Richard Moor, a minister ejected from Diss in Norfolk (1662), 20 miles south of Norwich, who was permitted to take charge of Wythall near King's Norton under the Indulgence of 1672, and there preached three sermons commemorative of Mr. Hall whom he had formerly known.[1] Two of these were preached in April, 1673, the third in April, 1674 (April being the month of his decease), and in the last he recites as much concerning Mr. Hall as he knew. This amounted to little beyond a meagre sketch of his career, an account of his death, and some personal impressions of his character. He says that he had been asked to do much more, and expresses regret that he could do so little. Then, incidentally, he adds the reason, viz. that Mr. Hall's "life written by himself was lost." This was in 1675 (the year of publication of the three sermons). By that time an autobiography known to Mr. Moor had disappeared. But I am inclined to believe that, in substance, the lost MS. has been found. For, though written in the third person, the Baxter MS. is so mixed up with autobiographical matter that it may well have had the said "Life" for a basis. It contains, e.g. Hall's will, lists of his books, and numerous remarks, all written as if by himself. At the same time, these, together with the

[1] Moor, after his ejection from Diss, retired to East Bergholt in Suffolk and was there in 1672 when he was licensed as a Presbyterian Teacher [Browne's *History of Congregationalism*, p. 324, note]. But in April, 1673, he had been at Wythall for "a year compleat," and speaks of being "restored to his ministry there," p. 42 (second of the three sermons).

narrative as a whole, have been worked over by an editor who calls himself the publisher[1]—Rev. John Reynolds, one of Mr. Hall's former pupils and late minister of Wolverhampton. After 1661—three or four years before Hall's death—Reynolds came to live on "his patrimony" at King's Norton and renewed former intercourse with his old friend. In this way, he may quite naturally have become the depositary of such notes of his life as Mr. Hall had written down—possibly with an understanding that Mr. Reynolds should use them as he thought fit. This, after Mr. Hall's death, he began to do and his design was to write a complete narrative. But something pulled him up midway—so that between 1646 and 1662 there is a gap, merely followed by a note or two about what befell Mr. Hall in 1662, reflections on the man and his work, a copy of his will, and rough catalogues of his libraries.

If it be asked how the MS. came into Baxter's hands, one may conjecture that it was lent to him by the writer, with whom he was in correspondence at least as late as 1680; and that, not having been returned before Reynolds's death in December, 1684, it passed out of sight and mind. It is possible that Baxter might have taken more care of the MS. if he had cared more for its subject. But there was no intimacy between him and Hall—rather otherwise. Hall, says Baxter, was the only Presbyterian known to him in the county. For that reason he refused to join the "Worcestershire Association"; and became a member, instead, of the Kenilworth Classis. Hall, in fact, alike in the strictness of his Presbyterian antagonism to Episcopacy and his rigid Calvinism, could not be a *persona grata* to Baxter—though respected by him as "a godly upright man" "of a quick spirit."[2] The proper title of the MS. is as follows:—

"A briefe narrative of the Life and Death of Mr. Thomas Hall, late Pastor of King's Norton in Worcestershire—full of comfort and encouragement for the weak and the tempted against those many discomforts and discouragements wch they must expect to meete wthall from their Spirituall enemies whilst they are in this Vale of Teares;

[1] W. H. Black (1808-1872), the cataloguer of the B. MSS., takes it as evident that the "Life" is Thomas Hall's own autograph; but this is impossible: for it would mean (*inter alia*) that Hall wrote his own post-mortem eulogy (pp. 84-114).

[2] R. B., iii., p. 93.

where the people of God may allso find many usefull Practicall Rules for their Direction in this their Pilgrimage condition. . . . published by John Reynolds, late minister of Wolverhampton and sometimes pupil to the aforesaid author."[1]

A second title in another hand runs—"A Brief account of the Life and Death of Tho. Hall (an enthusiast) Pastor and minister of King's Norton in Worcestershire with his will and a catalogue of his Books, etc."

The pith of the MS., for our purpose, may be distributed under four heads—(1) his career; (2) some special experiences; (3) his library or libraries; (4) his Presbyterian intolerance.

It will be seen later, under the third head, that the Catalogues throw what may be a surprising light on the "Thomas Hall Library" which (as already said) is one of the prized possessions of Birmingham.

I. His Career.

As to his career it will save repetition if we just mention what is said by Grosart in the D.N.B.—an account which is little more than a colourless abstract from Anthony à Wood (*Athenæ Oxon.*, vol. iii., coll. 677, 8, Blass's edition), with a touch or two from Calamy who, in turn, drew his information mostly from Moor.

His father, a clothier, was Richard Hall and his mother Elizabeth Bonner. He was born in St. Andrew's Parish, Worcester, about 22 July, 1610, and educated at first under Henry Bright (*d.* 1626) one of the most celebrated schoolmasters of his day. In 1624 he entered Balliol College, Oxford, and, finding himself under a careless tutor, soon removed to Pembroke College as a pupil of Thomas Lushington. Having graduated on 7 February, 1629, he returned to Worcestershire and became teacher of a private school, and preached in the chapels of several hamlets in the parish of King's Norton—of which his elder brother John, Vicar of Bromsgrove, was perpetual curate. Later, his brother resigned the curacy to him, and he was glad to eke out its small stipend by that of the mastership of the Grammar School. Yet, refusing far greater preferment, he stayed there till his death. At first a conformist he turned Presbyterian before 1640—partly through attending a Puritan Lecture at Birmingham. In 1652 he obtained his B.D. from the Puritan delegates at Oxford

[1] Note the word "author" as indicative of a MS. which the publisher is editing.

on the terms of preaching a Latin and English sermon. He was "a plain but fervent preacher"; and a lover of learning. He proved the latter by the books he contributed and collected for the Library of the Birmingham Grammar School; and, also, by the Library he founded at King's Norton. After his ejection in 1662 he was reduced to great poverty; but saved from actual want by his friends. He died on 13 April, 1665. John Hall (1652-1710), Bishop of Bristol (born and buried at Bromsgrove) was his nephew.[1]

Our MS. supplements and modifies in various particulars. Thus, it informs us that both his father and grandfather did "beare the chiefe offices of the citty wth generall love and approbation"; while of his mother it is noted that her father was John Bonner, a London merchant in Queen Elizabeth's days, who sheltered and succoured silenced ministers; and, at his death, bequeathed a legacy for the buying of New Testaments to be disposed in the ignorant places about Worcester. She had five sons and four daughters. Three of the sons were allotted to the ministry; the other two died in the Parliament's service. John, the eldest son, died at Bromsgrove on 19 August, 1653, after an incumbency of thirty years. "Thomas was the middlemost son—tossed and tempted and tried from his youth up. At his first setting forth he fell into the hands of a butcherly schoolmaster [the aforesaid celebrated Henry Bright ?] who had killed some children, brought others to consumptions, and the falling sickness, and so wronged and affrighted this our friend (he being of a mild and fearfull nature) y^t^ he carried the scarres of this cruelty with him to his grave."[2]

In 1625,[3] he entered at Balliol College, Oxford—under a Tutor "famous in his ministry for Philosophy and industry; but, having wasted his body and brain (wth what I shall not say) he was grown so idle and sottish that every sophistry would baffle him. Not long after he died of a consumption. From Ballioll he removed to Pembroke Colledge (ab Herode ad Pilatum, as the Proverb says) to a Tutor that had a great fame for learning but a starke, staring Armenian.[4] His

[1] Rev. John Spilsbury, brother-in-law of the Bishop, and Baxter's friend, succeeded John Hall, the elder, as Vicar of Bromsgrove and was ejected in 1662. Baxter says he was "accounted an Independant," R.B., iii., p. 92.

[2] He had a butcher to his father—(margin).

[3] Not 1624.

[4] Dr. Lushington now a Socinian—(margin).

first Tutor starved him and this Poysoned him." He graduated B.A. on 1 May,[1] 1629, and in the same year came to King's Norton—where "he abode to the day of his death."

He came to be teacher not of a private school but of the Free Grammar School "wch he found in a low condition" and by "his industry" soon made famous, drawing students "from Worcester, London, Wales, Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Cheshire, Northumberland, Leicestershire, Herefordshire, Ireland"—all which places are mentioned in this promiscuous order. It is added that, in the course of his tenure of the school, "he sent more to the University from 'it' than ever was sent . . . since 'twas a schole." "He stored the country round about wth pious, learned, able, orthodox ministers; and 'tis observed yt scarce one yt ever he bred to the ministry but was a blessing to the place where he came. . . . In his latter days he had divers Graduats in his house wch came from the University to be trained up by him in Divinity, so yt the family he lived in was a little academy; and when neighbour ministers were sick or at a loss, he supplied their wants.[2] He gained much by teaching others (*docendo disco*); and by imploying his masters Talent he improved it." Hall's "little academy" was surely the first of its kind in point of time.

It appears that he first began to preach, and then only after much persuasion, in 1632 when "he was called to Withall, a Chappell in King's Norton parish." Nothing is said of his experience here except that he was vainly pressed "by a malignant Churchwarden" to read from the Pulpit the King's Book of Sports and that he made trouble for himself with "a local usurer" by preaching against covetousness. But his chief vexation at this time came "from the unquietness of the female sex where he sojourned"—a reference, I take it, to a shrewish housekeeper. "He found yt of Solomon true, Proverbs 19. 13 ('the contentions of a wife are a continual dropping') and 21. 9, 19 ('It is better to dwell in the corner of the housetop than with a contentious woman in a wide house'; 'It is better to dwell in a desert land than with a contentious and fretful woman')." He also found "some canonicall truth in yt Apocryphall Text, Ecclus. 25. 13, 16 ['Give me . . . any wickedness but the wickedness of a woman'; 'I will rather dwell with a lion and a dragon than keep house with a wicked

[1] Not 9 February. [2] i.e. By his students.

woman']." This made him often say—Felix cui uxor, felicior cui bono, felicissimus cui nulla.[1] Thus, his lot at home was a daily trial, but a trial in Patience which, like Socrates, he turned to good account. He had another heavy trial in a state of chronic ill-health, of which one symptom was inveterate sleeplessness. "He had scarce 20 quiet nights in 20 years." He laid the blame on Satan, especially because "his nights before the Sabbath and before a Fast" were his worst. He got no benefit from the use of "physical meanes" i.e. medicines. "The best Physick that ever he found was Prayer and Labor."

In 1635, Mosely, another Chapel in the parish of King's Norton was joined to his charge of Withall. "This was the place which of all places in the world he loved most." Why, we are not told; but partly no doubt because here he found a staunch friend in Sir Richard Greaves, "the minister's patron, the poore man's shield, the good man's Tower and the wicked man's Terror."

At length, in 1640, he was called to the Parish church of King's Norton in succession—it is said—to "many Sir Johns" who bequeathed him "a rude and ignorant people—Drunkards, Papists, Atheists, Sabbath-profaners, etc." But "the juncture of time"—just when the long Parliament began to sit (Nov., 1640)—was favourable to Reformation; and "in a short time" he had them "civilized" and, "in the general, Tractable and Teachable." One of his first acts was to set up a Lecture at Henley where there "lived a dumb-dog" whom Hall's intrusion roused into "a barking, bawling curre." At the same place, some time later, "he was set upon by Sectaries and challenged to that discussion wch brought forth his first book the 'Pulpit Guarded.'" For the rest, his ministry at King's Norton seems to have been free from internal troubles. He held on there with steady devotion till his ejectment in 1662—never once missing "a Sabbath or Fast Day save when he was in Prison, so y^{t} he was a good succour to the Parishes round about whose ministers were fled." "He had the best and chiefest people of most congregations round about . . . y^{t} did depend upon his ministry. Yea, some came 20 miles affirming y^{t} they had not any consciencious Preaching nearer."

Then "at last y^{t} fatal act came forth wch cast him (wth hundreds more) out of all; and now he spent the most of his Sabbaths in private

[1] So margin. This is a strange remark about a housekeeper but it can only refer to her; as he was certainly not married.

fasting and mourning for the loss of the holy fellowship: for in publike he could get nothing, the devotion of the time being like to a three-halfe-penny ordinary, where a man must swime thro a great mass of brothe before he can come at a little chip of meat, and y^t^ many times mixt wth poysson."

He died at King's Norton on April 13, 1665—it is said "in great poverty," and no doubt this was true. But Calamy tells us that when "in his last sickness his stock was reduced to sixpence . . . he was easie and said it was enough, and it proved so, with Providential Additions. For before 'twas gone, several sealed Papers of money were sent him by unknown Friends to supply his occasions."

His "last Will and Testament," dated April 20, 1664, is a characteristic document. Here are the first two clauses—

(1) "I give thanks to God that he hath made me a man and not a woman, and y^t^ he hath made me a Christian and not a Barbarian and y^t^ he hath made me a minister amongst Christians and of his own free Grace hath made me a Leader of his people—(me) who hath long since deserved to be cast out of his Presence as a dead-dog fitter for the ditch of hell than to serve in his temple, and to be trod upon as unsavoury salt long since. . . ."

(2) "I bless his name y^t^ he was pleased to call me to the knowledge of his truth at 19 yeares of age, whereby I have beene enabled to do him the more service, and to see more abundantly of the travaile of my soul."

In clause (3) he blesses God for having counted him worthy to suffer for his truth and testifies that he dies in the faith which he has preached and published to others. Clause 4 runs :—

"I see the vanity and disorder y^t^ is at pompous burialls, and, therefore, I have given speciall charge y^t^ it be totally forbidden as to me. . . ."

Clauses 5, 6, and 7 are a dying charge to his flock, the 6th begging them not to "let idolaters (i.e. Papists) rise in judgment against" them.

For "they can part wth forty shillings a yeer out of 20£ per annū to their masse Prieste, w^n^ you grumble to part wth the fourth part of y^t^ sume to the faithfull ministers of Christ."

The last clause refers to his Library and will be dealt with later.

He ends with a prayer for the "church all over the world" and signs himself "thy dying Friend, TH. HALL."

II. SOME EXPERIENCES.

The D.N.B. article, quoting Calamy, says that in the time of the civil war he was "many times plundered, and five times imprison'd." But according to our MS. this is an exaggeration of the facts. His first taste of the war was on October 17, 1642, when "Prince Rupert wth his followers quartered in King's Norton before he went to Edgehill. But the Lord preserved him and all that he had for y^{t} time." A few months later he was not so fortunate: for on "March 2, 164$\frac{2}{3}$, (the very day the Lord Brooke was killed at Lichfield) he was plundered of all he had . . . they left him nothing but his bookes; and, not long after they came for them and tooke bag-fulls away." "He told them he could now say with the Philosopher, *omnia mea mecum porto*."[1] "He asked them why they plundered him thus, since he had done thē no wrong. They answered him, because he was an enemy to the King. He told thē y^{t} he prayed for the King, he preach^{t} for the King, and blamed those who gave not to Cæsar w^{t} was Cæsar's, and he was ready to sacrifice for him in an Honorable and Just way; and, if this were to be an enemy to Cæsar he wisht he might have many such enemies. The cavaliers replied y^{t} if he were so good a friend to the King then he must show his loyalty by Drinking a Health to the King—wch one Captaine Blunt, a Papist, began. To this he answered, y^{t} he desired to be excused, for he had Preacht against such practices, and 'twas his desire alwayes to practise himselfe w^{t} he taught to others. They replied y^{t} if they should begin a Health to the Parliament, then he would pledge thē. He answered y^{t} if they should begin a thousand healths to the Parliament he would not pledge thē. *He would, indeed, pray for their Health; but he would drinke no more than might preserve his owne.* This answer pleased thē, and so he escaped y^{t} snare." On July 4, "The queene came from Burton-on-Trent and quartered at King's-Norton wth about 6000 men." "The commanders—Colonel Dewey, Major Dewey, Captain Dancy, Captain Metcalfe, Captain Atkinson and Captain Beverley, Yorkshiremen—quartered in the house with him"; and "(to

[1] Marginal note.

give them their due) they were sober, orderly, ingenuous men and preserved the family from violence." Moreover when "in the middle of supper," the King's health was proposed as usual and was evaded as usual by Mr. Hall "the moderate Cavaliers" were strong enough to restrain the rest from forcing him. So far, therefore, he had nothing much to complain of; nor did he suffer more than a brief inconvenience when on "October 17 he was taken Prisoner to Birmingham." For "by the mediation of friends he was soon set free." This was his first imprisonment. The second befell him on February 14, 164$\frac{3}{4}$, when "he was carried Prisoner to Worcester and kept there a fortnight." With no thanks to the Cavaliers, "who thought to do him an injury," it turned out to be a pleasant holiday. For Worcester was his birthplace; and he found himself among old friends. The very house of detention was the house of a friend; so that "'twas to him a Pallas rather than a Prison and as the martyr dated his letters from the delectable hortiard[1] of the Leonine prison, "so he dated his fōr his delectable Pallas at Worcester in the sun" (the signe of the House where he was prisoner).[2]

Once, during the fortnight, he heard a sermon by Mr. Whitby, the Governor's chaplain, "an able man but full of gall against the Parliament." His text—Judges v. 23, "curse ye Meroz" . . .—was more often in use among the Roundheads but had as much (or as little) fitness on the one side as on the other. "At last came ἔν μέγα, the Grand Snare," viz. the Oath requiring him to "sware y^{t} the Earle of Essex and all his adherents were traitors and y^{t} he would oppose thē." He refused on the ground that "'twas against the Petition of Right" and that the King's authority to "make" the Oath (which was pleaded) did not avail. "No sole Act of the King wthout consent of Parliament is obligatory to the subjects of England." Under other circumstances, his firm refusal and plain speaking might have cost him dear; "but the Lord broke this snare also, and being a man y^{t} was known to have no money, by the mediation of friends he was again set free." There ensued, throughout the rest of 1644, "a little Breathing fit" with "little or no loss and trouble." The only

[1] Hortyard, an affected alteration of orchard, frequent in the 16th and 17th centuries. Influenced by the Latin *hortus*—Oxford Dictionary, *sub voce*.

[2] Margin.

rough bit in its even course came on October 23, when "he was taken Prisoner by Dudley-men; but they, having no power to meddle in Worcestershire, released him."

But the year was not without its incidents. Thus on April 28, "at midnight, one col. Guy Moldsworth, came w^{h} his ragged Regiment and plundred King's Norton (wch had escaped till now) seven times over. He drove the comons, tooke away all the sheepe, and eat the(m) wch he could get. He allso tooke a net full of Froggs—I meane 22 Prisoners out of the Towne, most of the Poore people) the rich were fled), some of them were Cavaliers. This helpt to convert thē. Mr. Hall had notice of their coming, and thereupon by p(er)-swasions lay frō home y^{t} night (tho he had not layen a night frō home of a yeere and a halfe before) and so escaped thē." Again, on Saturday, January 4, 1644, "he was found allmost dead in his study" as the effect of fumes from "a pan of charcoales" which in the close room overcame him. He was saved by the accidental "coming" of some neighbours who let in the "aire." "Another time he was nigh to death wth drinking a little cold beere after the evening sermon. He had lost his speech wth the extremity of paine in his stomach; yet, having some burnt sack, wth ginger in it, made ready wth all speed, it overcame the coldness of the beere and recovered him imediately."

1645 is noted as *mirabilis annus*—when the new model army or the new noddle, as it was called by scornful cavaliers, so "noddled and modelled" those gentlemen "that they never prevailed after." But before this could come to pass "the King wth his whole army" laid siege to Hawkston, "an old moated Popish House" in the Parish which at that time was held by a small garrison of Roundheads under Captain Gouge. Though the enemy drained off a great part of the moat and was in overwhelming strength it took them four days to gain, "w^{le} many strong castles have been gained in four hours." The writer truly remarks that "it was of good consequence (at y^{t} juncture of time especially): for by y^{t} meanes the Parliament's army had time to compleat themselves against Naseby-battle." He goes on to say that "during the siege these Parts were sorely harrast, all their meate and drinke was gone, they had nothing but Adams ale (pure water) left them." Further, it was the cavaliers who stayed to welcome their friends that fared worst—"if they had any money." For then "they were tyed neck and heeles together till they ransomed ther-

selves, so y^t at last they were forced to out-run their houses, and to lye in Hedges and Ditches with the Roundheads." "And"—he adds—"'tis observed throughout the land y^t the cavaliers' greatest friends had the greatest losses, and those wch were most for thē sped worst by thē."

Worcestershire, owing to geographical position, was still for a time overrun by Royalist bands even after Naseby, and so it happened that about the "time Bristol was taken by the Parliament forces" Mr. Hall "was taken prisoner frō church whilst he was keeping a Fast" (September 20th) "and carried to Hartlebury Castle where he lay almost nine weekes." This was his last and longest and severest experience of the kind. "Here he lay at first upon the boardes; and, as Jacob never slept more soundly than w^n he had a stone for his Pillow, so he slept best w^n he had the boards for his bed. However, the Lord brought him in his due time and establisht his liberty ever after. . . ."

If the foregoing—drawn from a contemporary source—be correct, he endured not five but only four imprisonments and none very severe, nor is it quite fair to say that "he was often accused, threatened with Death, many times plundered." In view of his uncompromising stand and character, it is, on the whole, creditable to the Cavaliers that they treated him so leniently.

III. His Libraries.

Mr. Hall's chronic poverty seems to have "abounded unto the riches of" his "liberality": for "his doors and ears were open to the Poorest; and the meanest Inhabitant of his Parish should as soon have his request granted, if in his Power, as the greatest."[1] Nor did it prevent him from buying books. Indeed, what he spent upon books must have run into hundreds of pounds, and makes the suggestion irresistible that he must have starved himself of all other comforts in order to get them.

Moreover, he bought for delight as well as for use. He was a bibliophile as well as a student. Things curious and rare in the way of binding or origin or content appealed to him—though theology, of course, was his main concern. And his marginal notes, which are numerous, give full proof that he read with a relish.

On August 26, 1662, he was seized with "a Quartan Ague"; and "The Parishioners"—says the MS.—"supposing that this might

[1] Calamy.

be his last sickness, and understanding y' he intended to bestow £200 worth of Books for the good of the Parish, they undertooke to build a library to put them in." But he recovered and their zeal abated; so that "if he had not put to his helping hand, and w^th^all improved his interest in all his friends in all probability the matter had never been accomplisht, which now is completed and is become as fine a monument for Church and Schoole as any in the county for its bignes." This was written after his death in 1665, and shows in what sense we are to take Calamy's statement that he "prevailed with his Parish to build a publick Library" to which "he gave his own Study" "in his life-time." He had not actually given the Library in 1662, nor had he done so when he made his will in April, 1664: for there it is said, "as for my Riches 'tis quickly cast. I have nothing to bequeath but a few bookes; and the best of them I give to the Library at Birmingham as a monument of my best respects to y^t^ Towne and the ministers there, wth the rest of the adjacent ministers. The Rest, being ordinary bookes and not so fit for so publick a Library." A few pages later we come to this: "Books given for a Library at Kingsnorton for the use of the Minister of

{ Kingsnorton
Mosely and
Withall, etc.

and of the two Schoolmasters there; desiring every one of thē in general and each of thē in particular to Augment w^n^ they can but not in the least to diminish the number of the Books which I have designed for the general good of thē and of their successors after ēm." The total number of books is stated as 220, thirty for the Schoolmaster's "Study" and one hundred and ninety for the Library.

This follows "a Catalogue of those books wch are given to the Library at Birmingham, 1667"—to the number of 150; and then an invocatory or imprecatory prayer: "The good Lord increase those y^t^ shall increase these Librarys and destroy those y^t^ shall go about to destroy ēm!"

When we compare the two lists it is rather difficult to see in what respects the village Library consists of "more ordinary books" than those designed for the public Library. But perhaps the distinction may be traced in the fact that while both are mostly theological there is a predominance of "practical divinity" in the one, and of Dictionaries,

commentaries, Greek, Latin or Hebrew books, and works of controversy in the other. There are in the village Library about a dozen of Baxter's "practical" writings and none in the Public.

The chief interest, however, of the two lists is this—that they make it possible to discover just what volumes in the present Thomas Hall Library at Birmingham actually belonged to the Library as bequeathed by the founder. It appears that the books set apart for Birmingham in 1667 did not go there but remained at King's Norton, and (not at once possibly but in the course of time) got mixed up with the others. Not till two hundred and twenty-five years had passed—i.e. in 1892—did the transfer take place, and then it was of the whole Parish Library comprising "above 600 volumes." The account of these by Mr. Salt Brassington, F.S.A., is as follows:—

"The books are chiefly upon theological subjects, but these represent a wide range of thought, and include many rare foreign treatises, besides English works and numerous sermons by 'Preachers of God's word' all over England. The political tracts are numerous and include rare quartos upon 'Ship Money,' 'The Trial of Lord Strafford,' 'The Wallingford House Committee,' 'Ordinances of Lord Essex's Army,' etc. etc. The Presbyterian literature is valuable as showing the tendency of the theological thought of the times, and the tenets of the dominant party under Cromwell.

"There are a few American tracts and one book of plays—Lord Stirling's. There are some excellent specimens of early typography, particularly the beautiful but incomplete volume of St. Augustine; a book printed by Guyot Marchant, at Paris, 1498, Ovid's 'De Remedio Amoris,' M. Le Noir, Paris, 1495; a copy of the curious German Encyclopædia of Arts and Sciences, 'Marguerita Philosophica,' containing early wood engravings; and lastly, the valuable fragment of an early Oxford printed book, by John Scolar, 'Qæstiones moralissime,' etc., printed in 1518, and containing two woodcuts, one of the Royal Arms of England, and the other of the Arms of the University of Oxford; only two other copies of this book are known. Several volumes still retain their original stamped leather bindings; one bears the mark of John Reynes, bookbinder to Henry VIII. whose arms and badges are stamped upon one side, while the other is adorned with that most singular of all devices, 'The arms of the Saviour of the World.' There is also a fragment of a binding bearing the initials of

a fifteenth-century stationer of the city of York. Several volumes are bound in vellum leaves, taken from ancient manuscripts, one, apparently from a Service Book, exhibits portions of a chant. The fly-leaves of a copy of Laurentius Valla's 'Adeps' are fragments of the 'Bartholomæus de Proprietatibus Rerum' printed by Wynken de Worde. The binding is of stamped leather by 'G. R.'; on one side are the Arms of Henry VIII., on the other the figures of four saints. Among the more curious books may be mentioned 'The Anatomie of Abuses' by Philip Stubs, 4th edition, 1595; 'the most Heavenly and Christian speech of the Magnanimous and Valorius King of Sweden, Carolus Gustavus Adolphus, on his death-bed,' London, 1660; 'Vox Piscis or the Book-Fish, containing Three Treatises, which were found in the belly of a cod-fish in Cambridge Market, on midsummer eve last A.D. 1626' by Richard Tracie, London, 1627."

Now what strikes one in reading this, and then in reading the two lists, is that in these there would appear to be little or no mention of the rare or curious items, etc., referred to by Mr. Brassington. It becomes a question, indeed, how far the present "Hall" collection corresponds at all with the original bequest; and it is in order to clear up this point that the 1667 list has been appended to the present article.

With regard to the local library the donor might be expected to leave directions such as he would not think of prescribing or even suggesting to the experienced custodians of a public institution. And he did so in distracting fashion. For first one direction is scribbled and scored out, then a second, then a third and so on. Evidently he was in a state of anxiety about the future of his books and had no great faith in the carefulness or even the honesty of their users. But in the end he seems to have left it at this—that the schoolmaster should make and keep a Catalogue; that the minister of Mosely, and one Church Warden and one parishioner should call over the Catalogue every Easter Tuesday; that if any books were missing the minister and schoolmaster of King's Norton should find out the defaulters; that these, if need be, shall be forced by "law to make satisfaction"; that the same two, under "a bond of £140 or more," shall hold themselves responsible[1] for the safe preservation of the Library as a whole, that

[1] To the minister of Mosely and one Church Warden of King's Norton.

everyone admitted to the use of the Library shall "engage on the faith of a Christian" not to "embezzle or abuse" a book; and that "no schollars y^t^ are boys" are "to be admitted to the use of the books but in the presence of the M^r^, etc."

We may add, on the authority of Mr. Brassington, that the books were stored in specially constructed oak cupboards and that the cupboards formed part of the furniture of the upper room of an ancient building standing at the north-east angle of the churchyard. This building appears to be of fourteenth-century construction, and was underbuilt with brick and stone apparently in the Tudor period.[1] In all probability it was a priest's chamber used by the clergy of the chantry in the adjoining church, both as a dwelling and a school.

According to the same writer the cupboards were "the gift of the parishioners"; but, as shown above, not theirs alone.

IV. His Presbyterian Intolerance.

We are assured by his biographer that Mr. Hall "as he loved Christ so he loved the servants of Christ sincerely . . . and . . . prized grace wherever he saw it." But he could see no grace, e.g. in the Church of Rome or any of its adherents. A note of his on the title-page of one of his books (1641) runs: "Those w^m^ God hates the world loves and those w^m^ the world loves God hates. The Queen of Sweden turned Papist and is blest and p^r^doned by Pope and Priests; but blasted and abhorred of God as a gross idolator now in a time of light." This expresses his life-long feeling. Similar outbursts, even more implacable in tone, are of frequent occurrence. One of the latest seems to show that with Papal Rome he couples Episcopal England, viz.: "From the Pope's broth and the Devil's loufe (i.e. loaf)—a coarse reference to the Mass—good Lord deliver us." Also, "from y^t^ wch is the blind-church-man's spectacles, the lame-church-man's crutches, the lazy-church-man's Pillow, the com̄on-peoples' Idol, the Profane-man's Delilah, libera nos, etc."—meaning the Prayer book. We are not surprised, therefore, to find him blessing the name of Thomas Edwards (d. 1646), "hereticomm veré malleus," compiler of the famous "Gangræna": "He (Hall) hated all by-paths, new-

[1] This is not the view of the Rev. T. M. C. Aston, M.A., in a lecture —"King's Norton in the Olden Time"—which he delivered, as Vicar, on 20 Nov., 1866.

lights and the new-found ways of the times, he kept close to the patterns of wholesome words w^th^out turning to the right hand or the left." So the Cromwellian laxity which encouraged Sectaries was a sore trouble to him. He denounced them—" Arrians, Arminians, Socinians, Antinomians, Anabaptists, Moralists, Seekers, Ranters, Quakers," etc.—from the pulpit; wrestled with them in public debate—particularly with Jane Higgs, a Quakeress; and advanced against them in book after book. Indeed, those " Births of his brain and study " were nearly all occasioned (says his biographer) by one or another of the " pestiferous " heresies which swarmed around him. It will serve to illustrate the extremes to which good men of his (Presbyterian) type—for he *was* a good man—could let themselves be driven by a fanatical orthodoxy, if we glance at the story of his controversy with one Thomas Collier—a man of excellent character who presumed to preach without ordination and to expound opinions akin on some points to those of the Quakers. On account of these he was expelled from Guernsey and then itinerated in the West of England where—says " Gangræna " Edwards—he was " the first who sowed the seeds of Anabaptism, Anti-Sabbatarianism and some Arminianism." In 1645 he published " Certain Queries " in which (says Edwards),[1] " he makes baptizing the children of the faithful not only to be in vain but evil and sinful." So he became, it appears, " a Master Sectary and a great Power amongst them." After suffering imprisonment at Portsmouth he travelled in other parts of the land and for a time was Teacher of a Church at York; then he settled as a Baptist minister at Luppett and Upottery. In 1682 he is found at Westbury, Somerset, where he died at a date unknown. Now in 1651 he published an octavo pamphlet of 164 pages entitled :—

" The pulpit-guard routed in its Strongholds, or, a brief answer to a large and lawless discourse written by one Thomas Hall of Kings Norton entitled, ' the Pulpit guarded ' with twenty arguments pretending to prove the unlawfulness and sinfulness of private men's preaching. Wherein the Arguments, being weighed in the Balance of the Sanctuary, are found too light; and the lawfulness of private men's preaching (as Thomas Hall calls them), viz. gifted Brethren, is cleared and confirmed in opposition to all gainsayers. My work in

[1] There is a good deal about Collier in the " Gangræna," Pt. iii. pp. 27-29, 41, 51, 52.

this treatise hath been, and is, (1) to rout him in all his guards, and (2) to discover the weakness and invalidity of all his answers to those objections and allegations by him there produced for the preaching of gifted brethren. His six arguments to prove their ministry" (the Presbyterian) "free from Anti-Christianism, rased; and six more asserted, proving them to be Anti-Christian."

This in due course reached Mr. Hall and drew forth an answer under the amiable title:—

"The collier in his colours—or—*The Picture of a Collier*. Where you have the filthy, false, Heretical, Blasphemous tenets of one COLLIER, an *Arrian*, *Arminian*, *Socinian*, *Samosatenian*, *Antinomian*, *Anabaptist*, *Familist*, *Donatist*, *Separatist*, *Anti-Scripturist*, etc. An open Enemy to God, to Christ, to Scripture, Law, Gospel, Church, Commonwealth, Magistracy, Ministry, Army, etc., *as will fully and plainly appear by the ensuing Discourse*"[1] (1652). Here are the opening sentences:—

"You are a stranger to me, and live at a distance from me: sometimes I hear of you in the North" (*omne malum ab Aquilone*—in margin), "and anon you are in the West, so that I know not whether you are black or white; only I perceive your Name is *Collier*, and you have not your Name for nought: for as *Abigail* said of *Nabal*, *Nabal is his name and folly is with him;* so *Collier* is your name and collying is with you: you colly the Trinity, colly the Scriptures, colly the Law, colly the Gospel, colly Magistracy, colly Ministry, colly Church, colly State, colly Army, colly old, colly young, colly infants, colly all, etc."

Presently we come to this: ". . . You call yourself a Teacher, and that not of some obscure village but to the church at *York*.

[1] The author's name is not on the title-page; but he was certainly Hall. It appeared first as an Appendix to "The Font Guarded by xx. arguments . . ."; then separately with "*Præcursor Præcursoris*—or, a Word to Mr. Tombs, *currente calamo*" at the end. In the foreword Collier is spoken of as "sometimes a Husbandman and a Teacher to the Church at York, now of Westbury." Below the title we have references to Job 17. 7; 31. 35-36, Jude 9, and this:—

contra Rationem nema Sobrius
contra Scripturam nemo Christianus
contra Ecclesiam nemo Pacificus
} carbonarius solus contra omnia

His niger est; Nunc tu, Britanne, caveto.

What ! a Teacher, and a Lyar ? A Teacher, and a Blasphemer ? a Teacher, and a Railer ? a Teacher, and an Heretick, overthrowing the very foundations of Religion, etc. ? I think I may without any breach of charity, say that Hell is full of such Teachers. Wo to the people that have such a Pastor ! Wo to the Sheep that have such a Shepherd ! When the blind lead the blind, when the blind *collier* leads the blind Cripple, both fall into the ditch of Hell." He proceeds to "prove" his case by citations from what he calls Collier's "own twopenny Book (stuffed full with absurdities and blasphemies which yet most audaciously he dares to dedicate to the *Parliament* itself)"—viz. his *Discourse at Axbridge;* and then from the book under notice. From the two together, he thinks more than enough can be culled to justify the assertion that "if there be ever a false and foul-mouth'd Prophet in *England*, COLLIER is one, who is both *Mordax* and *Mendax*." As to the latter especially, "should we march on, we should find his Book as full of lyes as lines, as full of Errors as the Sea of monsters, an old rotten Dunghil of Loathsom Vermin, or a nasty Beggar of Lice." Poor Collier's unlucky charge, or insinuation against Hall of Ignorance in some points, is made to recoil on his own head in brutal style. "'Tis well known that he is a pure, or rather impure *Englishman*, a Sir *John Lack-Latine*, a *Purum nihil*, an empty nothing, who, though he want his Latine, yet he wants not a Lying tongue; and if he have no better skill in plowing than he hath in Preaching, he will make many foul balks." Finally, he is knocked down by a crashing blow of the *petitio principii* cudgel, thus :—

"To conclude, for I am tyred of raking in this Dung-hill, *Collier* himself shall confute all *Collier's* book : for in the last page he tells us that only those brethren which have gifts—not imaginary but Real —may Preach, or exercise them in an orderly Way. What need we any more ? For if none may Preach but such as have Real Gifts, and that in an orderly way, which the Scripture shows to be Election, Probation, Ordination, then our Gifted Brethren who have (for the most part) but imaginary Gifts, and those exercised in a disorderly way, without Election, Probation or any Ordination, by C's own confession ought to be supprest and silenced, to which all good men assent." If this had been all, this priestly Presbyter had drawn the line at strong language, he might have been excused on the ground

that he did but follow a deplorable fashion of the age. But he went much farther. He wrote with a purpose and his purpose was to get Collier put to death. After a list of his alleged "horrid and hellish blasphemies" he says, "if this be not enough to burn his books . . . yea, and to burn the Person too . . . I must confess I know nothing in the Scriptures: for 'tis clearly set down in the Word—

> (1) that all blasphemous Hereticks should die the death, Lev. 24. 6 . . .; and (2) that seducing Hereticks ought to be put to death, Deut. 13. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 . . .

Now this *Collier* is both a blasphemous, and a seducing Heretick, sometimes sowing the Devil's seed in the North, and anon in the West. *Ergo*, etc." So his last word is an appeal to Parliament to take vengeance on such evil-doers.[1] We may note how widely he differed in this respect from Baxter who abhorred Blasphemers and Seducers and intrusive lay preachers no less perhaps than Hall, and urged the magistrate to restrain them if need be by imprisonment; but always disclaimed the least desire to have their punishment carried to the point of death, or made in any degree merely vindictive. He declared that not even on the worst of Papists, so long as his Popery did not lead to civil crime, would he have the capital penalty inflicted. But Hall was a strict Presbyterian, of the Samuel Rutherford school, prepared to go all lengths in defence of God's honour or glory. "If such as kill but a man must die the death, shall such as go about to destroy the ever-living and glorious God be suffered to live in a land?" That, in Hall's words, was the fatal logic.

[1] It is in view of such men as Hall, mostly Presbyterians, and kind enough in a general way, but panoplied with old Testament texts and examples against the least touch of pity for supposed heretics—that we can understand how their representatives in Parliament were encouraged to pass, e.g., the terrific Ordinances of 2 May, 1648, which described blasphemy under sixteen heads, and required the impenitent blasphemer to be killed off as a felon!

A Catalogue of those Books which are given to the Library at Birminghā.[1] 1667.

A.

Abbat on
- Jonah.
- De Potestate regia.
- De p(er)sev(er)antia contra Thomyson.
- His Antilogia.
- Against Hill.
- Against Spence.
- Defence of Perkins.

Adams de vitis Theologorū.
A Lapide in 11 vol. folio.
S. Ambrose
- Op(er)a o(mn)ia.
- In Apocalypse.

Alsted's Cas. Consc. 4to.
Ainsworth Coment. folio.
Aquinas Summa.
Articuli Lambethani cū aliis.
Aretius
- Problems.
- Coment. in N.T. 2 vol. folio.

Aristotle's
- Works in 4 vol.—4to.
- His Rhetorick with Goulston's notes.
- His Physicks cū coment.

Arminius Op(er)a omnia.
Arnoldus Contra Socinū.
St. Austin
- in Psalmos.
- Loci com.
- in Genes., Exod., etc.

B.

Baldwin's Coment. on All the Epistles, 2 vol. folio.
His cases of consci. 4to.
Basilii Op(er)a omnia.
Beza In N.T. cū camerario. folio.
Op(er)a omnia. 2 folios.
S. Bernard Op(er)a omnia.
M. Bernard
- for Sabbath.
- for Almes.

D. Benefield de p(er)sev(er)antia.
Bellarmine
- 3 vol. folio.
- His life and death.

Bible. Tindal.
Biblia Polyglotta in 6 volumnes.
Blake cū aliis contra Tombs.
Bloudy Tenent [of persecution].
Brightman on Revelation—Latin.
Brewoods Enquirys.
Henry Burton against Arminians.
Bullinger in
- Daniel.
- Apocalyps.
- contra episcopos.

Borsman cum aliis in Ovid Met.
Bucoltzers Chronology.
Buxtorfi Synagoga Judaica.

C.

Calvin Op(er)a omnia in 12 volumnes.
Camero(n) Op(er)a omnia—folio.
Camden Brittania. Latin.
Carthusiar in 4th Evangel.
Causin de Eloquentia.
Cartwright's Harmony. Edit. opt. 1647.
Cook's Institutes. 2 Part.
Catalogus Librorū Bibliothecæ Bodlianæ.
Cassander for Conformity.
Cassiodorus Op(er)a omnia.
Carpenter's Geography.
Caranza de Concilis.
Censura Remonstrant. Profess. Leydens.
Cœur Censura Patrum.
B. Carlton against Montague.
Chandux Loci com. de Scripturis.
Clemanyiis op(er)a omnia. 4to.
De Croy his conformity.
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[1] The D.N.B. Article says the Library of "the Birmingham Grammar School"; but the MS. does not say so.

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DANTE AND MILTON.[1]

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SUMMARY.

Introduction. § 1. The young Dante, *Vita Nuova*. § 2. The young Milton, *Comus*. § 3. Dante the Statesman: *De Monarchia*. § 4. Milton the Statesman: *Defensio Secunda*. § 5. Political Failure.: *Tre Donne* and *Samson Agonistes*. § 6. The *Commedia* and *Paradise Lost*, i., Hell, p. . § 7. The *Commedia* and *Paradise Lost*, ii., Heaven, p. . § 8. The *Commedia* and *Paradise Lost*, iii., Their Purpose, p. . § 9. Dante and Milton, p. .

'There is no greater sorrow than to remember in misery the vanished bliss.' *Inferno*, v. 121.

'His will is our peace; it is that Sea, to which the whole creation moves.' *Paradiso*, iii. 85.

'Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail
Or knock the breast, no weakness, no contempt,
Dispraise or blame; nothing but well and fair,
And what may quiet us in a death so noble.'
Samson Agonistes, 1721.

'The mind is its own place, and in itself
Can make a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven.'
Paradise Lost, i. 254.

EVERY one knows these sayings; they are among the most familiar, and the most treasured, in modern poetry. In each of them there is an indefinable greatness. Each bears the stamp of a mind that has felt deeply, powerfully thought, and resolutely willed.

Yet the stamp is not the same. The two minds, even in these momentary utterances, are distinguishable. The greatness, whether of the same order or not, is not wholly of the same kind. The two

[1] A lecture based upon this essay was delivered in the John Rylands Library, March 14, 1923.

sayings of Dante suggest, if they do not denote, a richer capacity for sorrow, and for love, and for the vision of divine things. The two sayings of Milton suggest, if they do not denote, a more outspoken faith in man's power to shape his fate, to make his own heaven and hell, and to find heroism more beautiful than death is sad.

If we try to get nearer to these distinctions, it is natural to think first of the obvious fact that the two poets stood for different, and antagonistic, forms of the Christian faith. Yet, while Dante was a devout Catholic, and Milton a very pronounced and militant Protestant, this distinction does not carry us very far. Each was not only far more, but something other, than his creed implies. Dante not only assails the papacy with the sternness of a Hebrew prophet; he reinterprets and spiritualizes Catholic dogma. And Milton fearlessly uses his Protestant liberty of private judgment upon the fabric of Protestantism itself, fashioning not only his own heaven and hell, but his own God and Christ, and his own interpretation of the history and the destiny of man.

With all this, there is a real and close parallel between the two men, their lives, and their works. This may be summarized under the following heads:

1. What I may call the virginal quality of mind is nowhere in literature more clearly manifested than in the young Dante and the young Milton.

2. Each, though supreme in literature, was yet in no sense a 'man of letters' but in the largest sense a *statesman*, labouring single-souled and in the main single-handed, for the needs, as he understood them, of his country, and of mankind. And each understood his country's supreme need in intrinsically the same way, as a condition which would permit every citizen to attain welfare here and salvation hereafter; a condition which the one called *peace* and the other *liberty*.

3. Each pursued this end by a series of writings, in prose and verse, culminating in two great poems which stand alone in literature; for, alone among the great poems of the world, they were meant to be instruments of human liberation by divine discipline, composed by poetic craft out of the inherited ideas and traditions of the Christian faith. And for this high enterprise each was qualified by being himself a great poem; a life set to the rhythm of a noble music, attuned to the ideals of a pure and lofty nature.

I.

'Of all poets,' says Milton, describing his own studies as a youth at Cambridge, 'I preferred the two famous singers of Beatrice and Laura, who never write but honour of them to whom they devote their verses, displaying sublime and pure thoughts without transgression.' And no English reader of that day was better qualified to understand both the purity and the sublimity of the *Vita Nuova* than the young scholar and poet of Christ's, who, a few years afterwards composed the great Puritan hymn of *Comus*. Between *Comus* and the *Vita Nuova* lie countless differences; but there sounds, naive and implicit in the one, eloquent and impassioned in the other, the note of the virginal mind. Let us study for a moment the growth of these two consummate flowers of poetry, and the Florentine and English gardens where they grew.

In the perennial endeavour to subdue his own baser impulses the spirit of man, as reflected in history and literature, has followed one of two courses, enjoined by two distinct schools of moralists and poets. The animal within us may be suppressed, or he may be transformed. The beast may be worked out by muzzling and caging him, or by educating and ennobling him. The ascetic repudiates the senses, the idealist transfigures them. To the young Milton and the young Dante, the beast was equally obnoxious. But it was natural that Dante, approaching from the side of a noble philosophy of love, should take the second way, and that Milton, approaching through Puritanism, should take the first.

In the later thirteenth century, when Dante was growing up, the dominant prepossession and inspiration of Italian poetry was the passion of love. Dante himself notices that the poetry of war, so prolific in the romances of chivalry of Northern France, had no counterpart south of the Alps;[1] and when he wished to distinguish the sincerity of his own poetic speech from the rhetoric of weaker rivals, he described himself as 'one who writes what Love dictates in his heart.'[2]

Dante's love poetry had taken shape under the influence successively of two schools, the one of immense vogue, personated by a host of famous singers; the other concentrated mainly in the work of a single abstruse and unpopular poet.

[1] *De Vulg. Eloq.*, ii. 2. [2] *Purg.*, xxiv. 52 f.

The love poetry of Provence bore the impress of the brilliant accomplishment, the triviality, and the licence of the society in which it flourished. Like that society it was regulated by an elaborate code of laws ; but its polished and often exquisite form was rarely associated with sublime ideas, and its air of aristocratic high breeding thinly veiled its inner sensuality. In Sicily, at the splendid court of Frederick II., and later in Tuscany, in Dante's youth, Troubadour poetry was imitated with inferior skill and without the support of a feudal society like that in which it had grown up.

But by the middle of the century, and especially during the twenty years 1260-1280, traces appear in several quarters of a loftier conception of love. In some of the later Troubadours themselves there are the germs of a reaction from the brilliant banality of the established mode. In Umbria, religious mysticism, borrowing the language of love-passion, imbued love-passion too with a mystic and religious air. In Tuscany, Guittone d'Arezzo intellectualized the purely amatory lyric with discussions of the philosophy of love, and sought to recast its facile style in the nobler mould of the Latin period. But the most original development, and the only one which deeply impressed Dante, was that effected at Bologna, during Dante's boyhood, by Guido Guinizelli. Bologna was a famous seat of the cultivation both of Roman law and of the newly recovered philosophy of Aristotle ; and Guido's ideas of love reflect the temper of a philosophical student as clearly as did the Provençal love doctrine that of a feudal court. But they also reflect the democratic temper of a great Italian city. And to both these qualities Guido brought the fire of a true poet. The 'new sweet style,' which he originated, was a fusion of all these things so finely adapted to the spiritual and civic needs of Italy at that moment, that it found instant and joyous acceptance among her choicest spirits. For it supplied the formula of a new life, instinct at once with the gladness of youth and the seriousness of manhood. 'They found in it,' as Parodi has aptly said, 'a way of reaching through love towards an equality in true nobility against the pretensions of aristocratic superiority : a means of allowing full scope to amorous sentiment while making womanhood and the lyric praise of women an instrument of moral perfection.'[1]

[1] Parodi, *Poesia e Storia nella D.C.* I owe this and some other references to modern discussions of the *dolce stil nuovo* to the kindness of my colleague, Prof. E. Gardner.

The fundamental doctrine of Guido, then, is an exaltation of love such as we are inclined to call Platonic, but which was at least implicit in Christian scholasticism, where it kept at bay the theological dogma that love was an evil, and woman a snare. That love can, like divine possession, quicken the vision of good and the accessibility to noble impulse, was as clear to Guido as to Plato, and he boldly identified love with this exalting potency of love-passion. In his famous Canzone, Love and nobleness are inseparable as the Sun and its splendour; love seeks its place in the noble heart as the bird in the greenery; and as water quenches fire, so love quenches everything mean in the heart at its touch. It was this Guido whom Dante exalted, not only above all his contemporaries and predecessors but above all who had ever rhymed of love. And while he had sat at the feet of the Troubadours, and still admired some of them profoundly even when he had reached the summits of his own poetry (witness his eulogy of Daniel Arnaut in the *Purgatory*), it is Guido who is, in this poetry of love, and the noble style he had found for it, Dante's master; 'my father and the father of better poets than I.'[1]

And we know, in fact, that in Florence the Bolognese poet had found gifted disciples among Dante's elder contemporaries; particularly in that Chiaro Davanzati, whom recent research is lifting to a place of growing importance in his *entourage*. A generation senior to Dante, Chiaro had, during Dante's youth, developed the fundamental thought of Guido, and assimilated at least the germ of the 'new sweet style.' It has even been thought that he, rather than Guido, was Dante's inspiring source.[2] Dante's silence is, however, surely decisive.

But whatever he may be thought to owe to Chiaro, whatever he certainly owed to Guido, it is in the *Vita Nuova*, of course, that we find the noblest, the final, embodiment of the new poetry of love. Dante himself did not indeed reach it at once; for the earlier sections of his narrative, and the poems inlaid in it, are still moulded by the conventions of Troubadour courtship,—conventions of secrecy, of 'screen-ladies,' and the like, which had a meaning in feudal Provence but not in civic Florence. But he begins to be aware that he is not worshipping Love aright. Love appears to him in a dream (§ 12) and tells him with a

[1] *Purg.*, xxvi. 97.

[2] Casini, *Lett. Ital.*, I., cxxiv. Cf. Vossler, *Die philosoph. Grundlagen zum 'süssen neuen Stil' des G. Guinizelli* . . . (Hdlbg. 1904).

sigh, 'My son, it is time to put away these phantoms.' And Love weeps, and at Dante's questioning replies: 'I am as the centre of a circle, to which all parts of the circumference are equally related; but thou art not so.' For Dante's love is still that of the wooer who expects a reward, he seeks Beatrice's pity, and is overwhelmed because he is denied her salute. Suddenly (at the 18th section) the veil is lifted, and he sees that the blessedness of love lies, not in a reward, but in a homage without thought of self; and the first words of the great canzone 'Ladies who have understanding of Love,' come of themselves into his mind. A single stanza will suffice to unfold his high interpretation of Love, one as notable as Plato's in its reaction upon later thought:—

'I say that whoso would seem a gentle lady, let her go with her; for when she passeth by the way, Love casteth a chill into base hearts whereby every thought of theirs freezes and perishes. And whoso should endure to stay and behold her, would become a noble thing or else would die; and when she findeth one worthy to behold her, he proveth not her virtue; for this befalleth him, that she giveth him salutation and maketh him so humble that he forgetteth every offence. Also hath God given her for a higher grace that whoso hath once spoken with her cannot end ill.'

Beatrice is thus seen by Dante's ecstatic intuition as a spiritual power, bringing earthly things into compliance with the divine order of the world; and there is more than convention in his eulogy when he declares that Heaven craves her, wanting nothing of perfection but her presence.

But Dante feels that even this praise, which other poets also had used of their ladies, does not exhaust either the nature of Beatrice or the meaning of her love; and the *Vita Nuova* ends with the declaration that he would speak no more of her until such time as he could treat of her more worthily; hoping, by study, after some few years, to write of her what hath never been writ of any woman.

The few years lasted to the end of his life, for it is only in the *Paradiso* that this purpose is completely fulfilled. They also witnessed digressions, which retarded or imperilled, its fulfilment. The *Convivio* and the *Pietra* sonnets bear witness to passions, philosophic or erotic, which withdrew if they did not estrange. But the final representation only gives fuller and more magnificent articulation to the utterances of that early Canzone. It helps matters little to say that the Beatrice of the *Comedy* is simply a personification of Theology or

Revelation ; as little as to say that she is simply Beatrice Portinari of Florence. However much she symbolizes in Dante's thought, the Beatrice of the *Vita Nuova* lives on in her ; as that Beatrice had refused him her salutation, so this one reproves him, and no less pitilessly, for his unfaithfulness to her 'school' ; as that Beatrice ennobled all whom she encountered, so this Beatrice intervenes to lead her lover through Hell and Purgatory to Paradise. At every stage intellectual illumination and moral purification go hand in hand ; and the consummation of Beatrice's work, of the transforming power of that selfless love, is not more to have won for him the vision of God, the crowning experience of the Paradise, than it is to have effected that complete oneness of his will with the Will of the universe, which makes him at length 'concentric with the Love which moves the sun and the other stars.'[1]

II.

These, then, were some of the 'sublime and pure thoughts, without transgression' which John Milton in his early twenties at Cambridge found in the 'famous renowner of Beatrice,' and which led him to prefer Dante and Petrarch above all other poets. Yet even these words betray that Milton had not penetrated the inner shrine of the *Vita Nuova ;* that his intellectual sympathy with the poet to whom he paid this sincere and lofty homage, was not complete. The three intervening centuries had created yawning fissures in the culture of Europe, and these were far less easily bridged, even by poetic insight, in Milton's generation than in ours. The *Comedy* itself was in part framed of perishable and perishing materials, and it was less obvious then than now that the edifice itself was immortal. The great scholastic doctors had been driven into disrepute even in the Catholic world by the intoxicating discoveries of Humanism ; and Milton, though his strong intellect was by no means without scholastic traits, was a member not only of the foremost of Protestant peoples, but of that left wing of Protestantism which had flung away most scornfully every remnant of the faith of Rome. Humanism and Puritanism met in Milton ; and if, as we shall see, their encounter was at certain points a clash, they both fanned his animosity towards the faith of Dante. Of that faith the supreme authority had been the angelic doctor

[1] Cf. Fletcher, N.Y. *Nation*, 16 Dec., 1909. *Par.* xxxiii., end.

Thomas Aquinas; but Milton haughtily avowed that he preferred to Aquinas the wisdom of 'the sage and serious poet Spenser.' Milton's intense and vehement nature was more warped by the negations of his creed than are many minds of far less compass than his own. Newman confessed sadly that Milton 'hated the Catholic Church.' Certainly he was too much obsessed by the monstrous iniquities of its pre-reformation decadence to have eyes for the power and beauty achieved in its creative age. Dante's large sympathy embraced the virtuous heathen whom his dogma required him to damn; but there is no sign that Francis of Assisi, a 'virtuous heathen' for a Puritan, was for Milton more than the founder of one of that brood of mediæval misbirths,—pilgrims, eremites, and friars 'white, black and grey, with all their trumpery,'—whom he consigns to his limbo of mischievous futility with the Greek Titans and the Biblical builders of Babel.[1]

Dante himself was thus too deeply implicated in the scholasticism and catholicism of his age, to be seen by Milton in his full stature even as a poet. Incidental allusions show that he was familiar with the whole *Comedy*. Perhaps of all seventeenth-century Englishmen he knew it best. The musician in him responded to the entrancing scene where Dante met his musician friend, Casella, 'in the milder shades of Purgatory';[2] and he remembered Dante's description of Beatrice as she who 'imparadises my mind,'[3] when he made Satan envious at the spectacle of Adam and Eve 'imparadised in one another's arms.'[4] But to judge from the repeated entries in his Commonplace book, Dante engaged Milton's keenest interest less as a poet than as the great ally within the Catholic camp, who had anticipated the thunders of Protestant denunciation of simonist popes and corrupt clergy. Certainly, the *Inferno*, with its savagery and ugliness, despite the human grandeur which breaks through in the heartening words of Ulysses or the Satan-like defiance of Farinata, must have repelled him; as the mystic and transcendent metaphysics of the *Paradiso* must have left him cold.

All this has to be remembered when we are trying to enter into the mind of the young Milton as he read the *Vita Nuova*. He certainly apprehended those 'sublime and pure thoughts,' which he

[1] *P.L.*, iii. 474.
[2] *Purg.*, ii. 76. Milton's Sonnet to Henry Lawes.
[3] *Par.*, xxviii. 3.
[4] *P.L.*, iv. 506.

so nobly praised. But he praised them as an alien, across a gulf for him impassable. In Italy itself the delicate virginal passion which fills the *Vita Nuova* with the fragrance as of a newly opened flower, had hardly survived its poet; artifice is apparent even in the exquisite grace of Petrarch; and long before Milton the fresh flower had become an embroidered blossom, whose elegant pattern was diligently copied with variations by the legion of fashionable sonneteers. For the love-sonnet as it had been practised in England in the generation before his birth, Milton shows an unqualified disdain. His five Italian sonnets, commonly held to reflect an experience of his Italian journey, are now believed to belong to his Cambridge or early Horton years, and to reflect neither serious passion nor serious art.[1] His English Sonnets, whether of public policy, or friendship, or personal confession, disengage themselves peremptorily in tone and topic from the main current of Petrarcan, and from the whole English, tradition.[2] In spite of his outspoken homage to Petrarch and Dante, he habitually speaks as if all love-poets were 'vulgar amourists,' and as if the ascetic scholar who resolves to shun delights and live laborious days resigned only the cheap satisfaction of sporting with Amaryllis in the shade, and not also those 'sublime and pure thoughts without transgression,' which had come to Dante and Petrarch, as Milton so clearly recognized, through love.

Now we seem here to have our finger on one of those points at which the poet in Milton, who was not less accessible than Dante himself to 'sublime thoughts,' encountered an inhibition in his own nature; so that the sublimity he found in the virginal love of Dante and Petrarch, though it *touched* his imagination, could not inspire it. We may say, if we like, that this inhibition was the restraining grip of the Puritan in Milton upon the native bent of the poet; and in fact in this glowing tribute itself we overhear the harsher Puritan cadence at the close, adding that these sublime and pure thoughts are 'without transgression.'[3] What modern reader ever rose from the *Vita Nuova* reflecting that Dante had spoken of Beatrice throughout

[1] Smart, *The Sonnets of Milton*, p. 135 f.

[2] This remains true notwithstanding Mr. Smart's proof of his debt to an Italian precursor, De la Casa, who himself deliberately broke with the Petrarcan tradition (N.S., p. 30 f.).

[3] *Apol. for Smect.*

'without transgression'? The assertion is almost sacrilege. Yet no coldly ascetic nature would have read and gloried in it at all. Milton's temper was not cold but ardent; his asceticism was the passionate and immoderate self-control of one by nature impelled to love. By this native bent he had early been drawn to immerse himself in and delight in all the poetry of love, becoming accomplished in the art of the 'smooth elegiac poets' of Rome, who had known and told all the secrets of secular erotics; and only, later, at Cambridge, began to 'deplore the men,' while still 'applauding their art.'[1] If he preferred Dante and Petrarch, then, to Ovid and Propertius, it was as a Puritan no less than as a poet; he found there a love poetry 'without transgression.' And the same animus colours his later studies, as reported by himself in the same place. The Romantic in him is drawn to the romances of chivalry, and he must have read, like Dante, of Galeotto and Guinevere, Roland, Tristan, and Iseult; and of those 'knights of Logres and of Lyonesse, Lancelot, and Pelleas, and Pellenore,' whose resonant names touch with splendour the grey verse of his old age.[2] But what he now records is only how every knight was sworn to defend the chastity of virgin or matron; 'from whence even then I learned what a noble virtue chastity sure must be, to the defence of which so many worthies, by such a dear adventure of themselves, had sworn. . . . Only this my mind gave me, that every free and gentle spirit, without that oath, ought to be born a knight, nor needed to expect the gilt spur . . . to secure and protect the weakness of any attempted chastity. So even these books which to many others have been the fuel of wantonness and loose living, I cannot think how, unless by divine indulgence, proved to me so many incitements to the love and steady observance of that virtue which abhors [profligacy].'

And when he goes on to the philosophers, the same inborn attraction is seen, subjected to the same Puritan inhibition. For it is chiefly to 'the divine volumes of Plato . . .' that he goes, the master-poet of ideal love. But here too the Puritan in him instinctively swerves aside from the passion even of the noble lover for the beloved, which according to the *Phædrus* is the source of his sublime vision of truth, and fastens only on the intellectual and moral benefits which it

[1] *Apol. for Smect.* (ed. Bohn), p. 117. [2] *P.R.*, ii. 58 f.

is declared to induce. Plato taught him, he declares, of chastity and love: 'I mean that which is truly so, whose charming cup is only Virtue, which she bears in her hand to those who are worthy, . . . and how the first and chiefest office of love begins and ends in the soul, producing those happy twins of her divine generation, knowledge and virtue.'[1] Plainly, Plato's thought has acquired a more Puritan colouring in Milton's mind. Plato makes the passion even of the noble lover an intoxication, which is the very condition of his acquiring a reach of vision beyond that of cool reason; Milton, consciously or not, alters the whole purport of the thought; with him it is only the sensual lovers who experience the intoxication of passion, and it is from their intoxication precisely that their fatuous delusions spring;—they are 'cheated with a thick intoxicating potion, which a certain sorceress, the abuser of love's name, carries about.' Milton had the strength and the weakness of his clear rationality; even his loftiest inspirations owed little to the divine unreason which Plato declared to be 'the source of the chiefest blessings among men.'[2]

Thus the virginal mind in Milton has forgone the capacity for such love as Dante's for Beatrice, and while no less noble and pure, has grown more self-conscious, aggressive, and declamatory. His high doctrine of chastity can yield him sublime thoughts, too, but they will be other than those inspired by the love of Beatrice. They are enshrined in the great Masque, composed eight years before the *Apology*, which we know as *Comus*.

Comus is a Puritan hymn to Chastity. Plot and persons are devised to exhibit its victorious encounter with vice. The humanist Petrarch had glorified such encounters in history and legend in a famous poem under the Roman symbol of a Triumph;[3] and it was in the spirit of the mature Petrarch, not of the young Dante, the spirit of humanist panegyric, not of mystic reticence, that Milton celebrated the shyest of the virtues here. His readings in the ancient poets, in Plato, and in mediæval romance, are drawn with exquisite tact into the service of the single aim. The situation is that which had fascinated him in the romances,—the chastity of a maiden, assailed and vindicated. He, as well as Dante, was nurtured in the traditions of

[1] *Apol.*, 121. [2] *Phædrus*, 244A.
[3] The 'Trionfo della Castità' is the second of his *Trionfi*.

chivalry, only it was the knight defending threatened virtue, not the knightly lover, who counted with Milton. The assailant, Comus, son of Bacchus and Circe, is equipped for the purpose with all the intoxicating spells for mind and sense and imagination, which that origin implies. The two brothers are the rescuing knights, and the Elder Brother explains with Plato's help both the philosophical ground of the high doctrine of Chastity, and also the ground of his assurance of his sister's safety. Plato's great doctrine of Love, of which Milton was to speak in the *Apology*, is here ignored altogether. Milton is not concerned with the contrast between noble and ignoble love but with that between the soul which abhors vice and that which yields to it.

He calls in to his aid the great passage in the *Phædo*[1] which describes how the pure soul becomes a part of the divine and immortal world, while the impure soul is dragged down to and clogged with the body it has served; building upon this a not less splendid passage of his own, where Plato's thought reappears clothed in the yet more transcendent symbols of Christian asceticism:—

> So dear to Heaven is saintly chastity
> That when a soul is found sincerely so,
> A thousand liveried angels lackey her,
> Driving far off each thing of sin and guilt,
> And in clear dream and solemn vision
> Tell her of things which no gross ear can hear,
> Till oft converse with heavenly habitants
> Begin to cast a beam on the outward shape,
> The unpolluted temple of the mind,
> And turns it by degrees to the soul's essence,
> Till all be made immortal.[2]

But Chastity, for Milton in *Comus*, is not fully symbolized by this saintly figure, with its protecting angels. She is a militant champion, Diana the huntress with her dread bow taming the lioness and the pard, or wise Minerva with her Gorgon shield, freezing her foes to stone. And at this point we seem, at length, to approach for a moment the *Vita Nuova* which Milton so greatly honoured. When Beatrice goes by the way, her presence freezes and destroys the base thoughts of those who look on her. Was not Milton remembering this passage when he declared that Minerva's Gorgon-

[1] *Phædo*, 80-81. [2] *Com.*, 458 f.

shield 'wherewith she freezed her foes to congealed stone' was no material buckler—

> But rigid looks of chaste austerity,
> And noble grace that dashed brute violence
> With sudden adoration and blank awe? [1]

But the approach is only for a moment, and there is even, when we look closer, a significant difference in the ethical implication of the two passages. Milton's Chastity, sublime and exalted as it is, is at bottom a self-regarding virtue; his warrior maid is concerned to disable her foes, not to ennoble them; and if a momentary suggestion of the creative and transforming glance of Beatrice has come into Milton's picture, if the Gorgon-shield of her rigid looks does not only freeze base thoughts but awakens wonder and reverence, the change is important not because her enemy has become a 'nobil cosa,' but because he is no longer formidable.

Milton has clothed his ideal in a splendour quite foreign to the naïvete of Dante's youthful art; and his Lady, 'defending the sun-clad power of Chastity,' is not less sublime, in her more secular and militant way, than Beatrice, the desired of heaven, when Comus trembles before her flaming scorn:—

> Thou hast nor ear, nor soul, to apprehend
> The sublime notion and high mystery
> That must be uttered to unfold the sage
> And serious doctrine of Virginity; . . .
> Yet should I try, the uncontrolled worth
> Of this pure cause would kindle my rapt spirits
> To such a flame of sacred vehemence
> That dumb things would be moved to sympathize,
> And the brute Earth would lend her nerves, and shake
> Till all thy magic structures, reared so high,
> Were shattered into heaps o'er thy false head.[2]

But great and noble as both are, Dante's spirit is the richer and more humane, for it knows not only purity, but love, a purity that is rooted in love, a love that is rooted in purity; whereas Milton describes a virtue which, with all its dazzling and soaring splendour, only repels and repudiates the humanity below it.

Dante, as I said, had greater capacity for love, Milton for the self-asserting energy of the human mind.

[1] *Com.*, 450. [2] *Ibid.*, 784 f.

III.

Both *Comus* and the *Vita Nuova* contain the germ of what their poets were in after days to become. The conflict between Comus and the Lady is resumed on a vaster scale, and to a more tragic issue, in *Paradise Lost;* and in the *Comedy* Dante magnificently fulfilled the vow recorded in the last lines of the *Vita Nuova*, to write of Beatrice what had never yet been writ of woman. And that 'new sweet style' itself, which might seem to be only a discovery of a beautiful way of writing, was charged with the ethical and political idealism of democratic Florence; with the conviction that nobility comes not by rank and blood, but by high thinking, open to all. While Milton's no less ethical scorn for the hirelings in the Church breaks out through the flowers and melodies of *Lycidas*. Between their early manhood and their ripe fulfilment lay, for both men, years of strenuous labour devoted to making these ideals explicit. Both turned from the problems of poetry to the problems of statesmanship, and in spite of the obvious difference both of the political conditions they coped with, the causes they battled for, and the terms in which they thought, both sought one end,—to bring about in the State the conditions of spiritual welfare. Both worked with and through parties, but both stood above party, and each eventually fought, single handed, a party by himself. And both witnessed the seemingly complete frustration of the political causes for which they had fought.

Consider for a moment the political conditions of the societies into which these two great idealists were born, Italy in the thirteenth century, and England in the seventeenth. The Italy of Dante might be described as a ruinous fragment of a palace magnificently planned, of which only a façade or a tower here and there was ever executed. The England of Milton was a small compact edifice built on a corner of the palace area in complete independence of that magnificent plan, but now itself shaken to the foundations by a conflict among its occupants. Dante's Italy was the most civilized and the most anarchic country of Europe; its crowd of cities, focuses of dawning art and poetry, were independent republics or princedoms, constantly at feud with one another, and racked by even bitterer civil feud within; while the deadliest enemies of all, and the most disastrous in their enmity, were two shadows or caricatures of divine omnipotence, the Pope and

the Emperor—wielders in title of the highest authority on earth. For to them, according to mediæval theory, had been assigned by God the government of the whole world: the Pope was God's vicegerent in spiritual things, the Emperor in temporal things. When Charles the Great was crowned Emperor at Rome by the Pope, in 800, when Innocent III. 400 years later laid England under interdict, and excommunicated King John, the palace of world-order so magnificently planned seemed to be rising to the sky; but it was soon apparent that the splendid façade had no solid structure behind it, and by Dante's time to most dispassionate eyes it stood a hopeless wreck. To believe that it could yet be made a mansion for distracted Europe needed the faith and the hope of a visionary poet. That faith and that hope were found in Dante, and they spoke trumpet-tongued in the great treatise on Monarchy, which expounds the magnificent plan of that world-order on the eve of its final and irrevocable doom.

For Milton's England, the world-power claimed by Pope and Empire had become an obsolete memory. In her moated stronghold she had built up a compact and secure independent kingdom, where the Emperor's writ had never run, and for half a century the Pope had wielded merely the menace of a distant foreign power. She was the mother of parliaments, and the chief bulwark of Protestantism. But the claims of Pope and Emperor to absolute authority over the world were now resumed, with far more formidable power to enforce them, over England, by the bishops and the King. And while the Pope and the Emperor had been bitter rivals, both claiming supreme temporal power, the English bishops exercised temporal power with the King's full authority and support. Italy was convulsed by the conflict of authorities, and its need was order; England by the abuse of authority, and its need was freedom. Hence Dante and Milton, each with few rivals the most comprehensive thinker and the most single-souled patriot of his time, seem to be proclaiming different, even contradictory, forms of political faith. What approach can there be between Dante, who longed for the coming of the German emperor, as the promise of salvation for Italy, like a Hebrew prophet longing for the coming of the Lord, and Milton, who made Europe ring from side to side with his defence of the execution of a king? Or what accommodation can there be between Milton, who hated the Roman Church, and Dante, for whom the Popes, with all

their aberrations, were still the spiritual vicegerents of God? Let us look closer, however.

Both men sought in politics neither power, nor wealth, nor the interest of friends, or any other personal end; but the spiritual welfare of the State. When Dante entered political life at Florence, in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, he found conditions more anarchical than could be paralleled in Milton's England before the civil war. The city was divided against itself by insoluble differences of race, social customs, and legal institutions. The traditions of the Roman municipality and of the Germanic tribe, of democratic citizens and feudal retainers, of merchants in their guilds and military nobles in their fortified palaces, struggled for mastery in the commune of Florence; and in the background loomed Pope and Emperor, intriguing, intervening, throwing the weight of their power on one side or the other, but never attempting to reconcile them. In this turbulent civic arena the rival pretensions of spiritual and temporal power, as such, were of little concern; the pith of the struggle was between citizens and magnates, legality and the right of private feud. Dante, though of noble descent, joined the party of civic legality. But this party was itself split into two factions even more bitterly opposed to one another than they had been to their opponents. During the years following 1292, when the civic party carried a series of democratic ordinances to curb the licence of the magnates,[1] the feud between the 'Whites,' who wished to carry out the ordinances strictly, and the 'Blacks,' who wished to compromise, almost effaces in Florence the older and larger feud of Guelfs and Ghibellines. Dante, again, attached himself to the party which better maintained the tradition of Roman law and the conditions of civic peace.

And the catastrophe which ruined this party, and involved Dante in its ruin, only gave a more passionate intensity to his demand for peace and law. But the instrument by which they were to be secured assumed a new and startling form in his mind. It was the Emperor, the successor of the Cæsars, whom Dante wished to see entering Italy and forcibly suppressing the disorders rife in her. Only two generations

[1] The Ordinances made the entire clan responsible for the murder of a burgher by any member of it. This reform was prepared for by the regulation which in 1282 had constituted the heads of the merchant guilds magistrates for the entire city.

before, the great Hohenstauffen emperor Frederick II. had actually ruled South Italy and Sicily. The actual entrance of Henry VII. in 1310 seemed to augur the crowning of Dante's hopes. He addressed to Henry letters filled with the passionate longing which the imminence of deliverance inspired. And in the great treatise already mentioned, written probably at this very time, he came forward with an imposing defence of imperial authority, probably the most magnificent apologia ever composed for the Roman empire.

Its argument soon makes clear that Dante is no imperialist of any common type. His politics are rooted in his religion. His doctrine of the State is a corollary of his doctrine of the universe and of man. He lays his foundations deep in abstract principle. What is the universal end of human civilization? The complete fulfilment, he replies, of the possibilities of mind, both in speculation and in action. For this, peace is above all needed, and for the maintenance of peace, *justice*, and this is best secured by a single universal rule from which the antagonisms and quarrels of States are excluded, because they are all merged in one. Have we not an example of this 'Monarchia,' he asks, in the universal rule of God? And he infers, with the sublime naïvete of genius, that the ideal form of government for man, must, then, be one modelled upon that divine pattern of 'monarchy,' an all-embracing 'single government' like his. So intimately were divine and human things wedded in the mediæval mind.

But this abstract reasoning is merely the basis of his practical contention, which is that the Roman Empire, including the existing Empire which claimed to represent it, was divinely established to exercise that universal monarchy. The Roman people ruled by full right, for they were the noblest of the nations, chosen by God for the purpose; a choice proved by signs and wonders all through Roman history,—the shield of Numa, the geese which warned of the attack on the Capitol, the hail which prevented Hannibal's assault upon the City, and finally by the fact that as soon as the Empire had been securely founded by the accession of Augustus, and the ordered mansion thus provided for Christ to be born in, and the Christian Church to have its home, Christ and his Church were born. The Incarnation was thus, for Dante, the one far-off divine event to which the entire history and evolution of the Roman Commonwealth, from Romulus onward, moved; and the divine sanction thus manifested in its earlier stages of

progressive conquest was guaranteed thereby, even in its later stages of disruption and impoverishment, to the Empire, now no more than a single State in the unruly complex of the States of Europe.

And, in the light of these ideas, we understand how the men who had impiously assailed and retarded this divine consummation are, for Dante the most abhorrent of all criminals ; how he plunges Brutus and Cassius, who struck down the 'first and only Imperator,' Cæsar, with Judas Iscariot who betrayed Christ, into the lowest pit of his Inferno, to be champed for ever in the blood-foaming jaws of Lucifer ; while every form of treason to the State is branded by him more sternly than any other form of wrong. Milton neither felt nor could feel passion of this kind directed against traitors of this character. For him the State was threatened, if at all, by traitors on the throne.

Whatever we may think of the historic justification of this view of the Roman Commonwealth, its grandeur cannot escape the most fanatic of Protestants, and we can understand the exaltation which Dante felt when this vision of its divine meaning, like a new planet, swam into his ken. For it had not always been his ; and he tells us something of the discovery in the glowing dithyrambs which open his Second Book :—

'"Why did the nations rage, and the peoples imagine vain things ? The princes of the world came together against the Lord and his Christ : let us break their chains, and fling their chains far from us !" Even as we commonly wonder at a new effect when we do not understand its cause, so when we know its cause we look with a certain derision on those who continue to wonder. I myself once wondered that the Roman people had mastered the world without resistance, for, to my superficial gaze, it seemed that they had won it not by rightful title, but only by violence of arms. But when I had penetrated to the core, and recognized that this was the work of divine providence, my wonder passed, and a certain derision supervened, when I saw the nations rage against the supremacy of the Roman people, and the peoples imagining vain things, and kings and princes agreeing in one thing only, to oppose the Lord and his anointed, the Prince of Rome.'[1]

But the toughest part of the practical problem remained. The Pope as well as the Emperor claimed universal rule, and by a divine

[1] *De Mon.*, ii. 1.

title far more widely acknowledged. It is the object of the third book of the *De Monarchia* to rebut these claims, and to demarcate the provinces rightly belonging to the Empire and to the Church. The Church, he concludes, is modelled on and limited by the mind and life of Christ; its saints are 'citizens of that Rome where Christ is a Roman';[1] it has to care for the welfare of men hereafter, and its kingdom, like Christ's, not being of this world, it cannot convey authority, as it claimed, to a temporal ruler. The Emperor, on his part, derived his title directly from God, and his whole function, which was also exclusively his, was to care for the welfare of men in this life.

It will be seen, then, that the aims which underlie and determine Dante's ardent imperialist faith have nothing in common with imperialism as now understood. To-day, imperialism is apt to be acutely nationalist and bellicose; for Dante it was the way, the only way, to internationalism and to peace. His great word was Peace, and peace meant for him the State in which men are free to fulfil themselves, to carry out all the possibilities of thought and action which God put within their grasp and intended them to exercise; to become, in Peer Gynt's phrase, 'what Master meant them to be,' and what Peer himself so disastrously failed in being. Hence there was the closest and most organic connexion, in Dante's mind, between the functions of the two powers of State and Church, whose conflict, in various disguises, was convulsing Italy. And though Dante's great book was primarily a vindication of temporal supremacy for the Empire, and a summons to the Church to resign its pretensions to temporal rule, its true inspiration was only secondarily political; the final purpose of an orderly and harmonious State was to provide the framework within which men could freely make that choice between good and evil which would determine their destiny hereafter. Hence, while the Church was warned off the sphere of governmental control, it was recognized as the higher of the two powers, to be revered as such by the lower.

But this last systematic utterance of Dante's political ideals was swiftly followed by the event which finally frustrated them,—the death of Henry VII. in 1314. Political solutions were bankrupt, and Dante, retiring, grieved but not in despair, from the closed and barred

[1] *Purg.*, xxxii. 101.

gate of politics, opened for himself and for his countrymen and for the world, the door into the immeasurably richer and ampler mansion of the Comedy.

IV.

Milton first decisively intervened in politics at about the same age as Dante. Both men were in the neighbourhood of 'the midpoint in life's journey,' their thirty-fifth year, when Dante was resisting the machinations of Boniface VIII. at Rome, and Milton publishing his series of pamphlets against episcopacy. The outer circumstances were unlike enough. Dante was a high State official, attempting to ward off the menace of a foreign power; Milton a private citizen, contending single-handed with the champions of a State institution. But they were fighting for the same cause, the vindication of spiritual liberty against the usurpations of ecclesiastical authority. Boniface had menaced the Florentine State from without, but Milton saw a no less formidable menace to the spiritual liberty of England in Laud enthroned at Canterbury, and imposing a strict ritual, half copied from Rome, upon the English Church. He had himself refused to take office in a Church so ruled; and a little later, in *Lycidas*, he borrowed from Dante the device of bringing in St. Peter, the founder of the Christian Church himself, to rebuke its unworthy ministers. Milton certainly remembered the terrific passage in which St. Peter, his face scarlet with anger, denounces Boniface (at the date of the vision still alive)—'he who usurps my place, my place, my place on earth, which in the sight of Christ is void, making Rome my sepulchre a sink of blood and filth, to the joy of the Fiend in hell.'[1] He remembered, too, the poet's own stern rebuke of the futile preachers whose ignorant flocks 'turn from the pastures full of wind.'[2] Milton fuses both these passages in the great invective pronounced by the Pilot of the Galilean Lake over the watery grave of Lycidas. It is strong evidence of the hold of Dante upon Milton in these years that he, the Protestant and Puritan, should call in the very saint whom the Roman Church

[1] *Parad.*, xxix. 103 f.

[2] *Ibid.*, xxvii. 22 f. Cf. the no less tremendous passage where Dante himself bursts into invective against the Simoniacs: 'Ah tell me now, how much treasure did our Lord ask of St. Peter before he put the keys in his keeping,' *Inf.*, xix. 90.

claimed specially as her own, to denounce these English hireling clergy who

> for their bellies sake
> Creep and intrude and climb into the fold,[1]

and whose ignorant flocks

> Swollen with wind and the rank mist they draw
> Rot inwardly, and foul corruption spread;

and finally pronounce the sinister and enigmatic menace:

> But that two-handed engine at the door
> Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more.

A few months after *Lycidas* (1637) Milton was himself in Italy, making no secret of his Protestantism even in the metropolis of the papacy, and visiting Galilei, a prisoner of the Inquisition, at Dante's Florence.[2] And then, called home by the beginnings of the civil struggle, he was presently launching pamphlet after pamphlet at that incubus of episcopacy which in his eyes usurped the temporal power. Events fought for the time on Milton's side; Laud was tried and executed, the clerical incumbents dispossessed. For a moment a rival church stepped into the authority of the Anglican; but Milton's ready distrust of all established religion soon coucluded that 'new Presbyter was but old Priest writ large.'

When, after the ruin of the royal cause, and the death of the King, Anglican and Presbyterian establishment alike gave place to the rule of Cromwell, a situation came about not unlike that which, might have ensued had Henry VII lived to carry out the policy of imperial intervention and mastery passionately urged upon him by Dante, and made both the ecclesiastic and the secular governing powers subject to himself. It is probable that Dante, the victory once achieved, and the warring factions of Florence castigated into quiescence, might have had occasion like Milton to remind his triumphant chief that 'peace hath her victories No less renown'd than war.' For though Dante passionately implored the soldier's help, and Milton loftily celebrated 'God's trophies' in the field,—Darwen and Dunbar,

[1] Among the allusions to Dante in Milton's Commonplace-book is one to his description of clerical avarice in *Inf.* vii.

[2] Scepticism as to this astonishing visit has recently been expressed; but the alternative is to suppose that Milton published a deliberate falsehood.

and Worcester's laureate wreath,—both poets were at one in abhorring militarism. No other great poet has so little sympathy with war as Dante; he may have fought for Florence as a young man, but he threw in his lot, as we saw, with the Florentine party which stood for civic law against sword-rule. The heaven of Mars in the *Paradiso*, which in other hands might have been peopled with great soldiers, is almost dominated by the single figure of Dante's great ancestor Cacciaguida; and the story of Roman conquest (*Par.* vi.) is significantly put in the mouth of Justinian, for the whole task of the Roman sword had been to prepare the way for the dominion of the Roman law. The emperor had to curb the secular usurpations of the priest, but Dante was no less resolute to oppose his intrusions upon spiritual privilege. In the English Commonwealth the situation which Dante dreamed of was, as I said, for a few years approached. Cromwell was not only a far abler soldier than Henry, but an immeasurably greater ruler and nobler man. Between Milton and the Protector there subsisted the mutual regard proper to spirits of such rare calibre. But Milton was acutely alive to the dangers of even the best-intentioned autocracy. And if he had caught from Homer and Tasso a zest of battle unknown to Dante, and could make a great military disaster—the débâcle of the rebel host—sublime even beyond Homeric parallel, he was even more acutely alive than Dante to the dangers of that military rule which Dante had so passionately invoked. And he addressed to Cromwell, at the height of his power, words of grave warning. 'You cannot be truly free unless we are free too,' he tells him, towards the close of the magnificent *Second Defence of the People of England*, 'for such is the nature of things, that he who entrenches on the liberty of others is the first to lose his own and become a slave.' It is interesting to compare the language which the two great poets held to the two great captains. Milton merely warns a powerful friend who has the same cause as he at heart; Dante, with an impatience ill concealed under that show of ceremonial phrase, exhorts and reproaches the emperor like a Hebrew prophet confronting some capricious Jewish king who might at any moment desert Jahve for Baal: 'Knowest thou not, most excellent of princes, from the watchtower of thy altitude hast thou not perceived, where that stinking fox lurks, recking not of hunters? Not by the Po, nor by the Tiber, but by the Arno is her haunt, and the name of this pest

(wotst thou not?) is Florence. . . . Ah then, bestir thyself, great offspring of Jesse, take confidence from the eyes of the Lord of Hosts who beholds thy deeds: and lay low this Goliath with the sling of thy wisdom and the pebble of thy might; for on his fall night and the shadow of fear will cover the camp of the Israelites; the Philistines will fly, and Israel be delivered.'[1]

But unlike as are these utterances, the ultimate purpose behind both was the same; and when Milton goes on, in that great peroration of the Second *Defensio*, to which only certain pages of Burke and a few of Wordsworth in English can be compared, to warn his fellow countrymen, also, that no outer freedom would avail them if they were without the inner freedom of self-mastery and disciplined obedience, he uttered, in the altered idiom of his time, the very spirit of Dante:—

'Unless the liberty you win, fellow-citizens, be of such a kind as arms can neither procure nor take away, the liberty which alone is the fruit of piety, justice, temperance, unless this liberty have taken deep root in your minds and hearts, there will speedily come one who shall snatch from you treacherously what you have won by arms. Your peace will be only a more distressing war. Unless you will subjugate the propensity to avarice, to ambition, and sensuality, and expel all luxury from yourselves and your families, you will find that you have cherished a more stubborn and intractable despot at home than you ever encountered in the field; and even your very bowels will be continually teeming with an intolerable progeny of tyrants. . . . Unless you are victors in this service it is in vain that you have been victorious over the despotic enemy in the field. . . . From such an abyss of corruption into which you readily fall, no one, not even Cromwell himself, nor a whole nation of Brutuses, if they were alive, could deliver you if they would, or would deliver you if they could. . . . If, after such a display of courage and vigour, you basely relinquish the path of virtue, if you do anything unworthy of yourselves, posterity will sit in judgment on your conduct. They will see that the foundations were well laid; that the beginning was glorious; but with deep emotion they will regret that those were wanting who might have completed the structure. . . . They will see that there was a rich

[1] *Ep.*, vii.

harvest of glory, and an opportunity afforded for the greatest achievements, but that only men were wanting for the execution.'[1] Milton, if he were living to-day, might have used these words with even greater emphasis.

Dante certainly would have endorsed them; for his lofty imperialism was but an instrument for creating and preserving the conditions under which men by their inner virtue might achieve that kind of liberty which arms and governments as such can neither procure nor take away.

But Milton, like Dante, saw his political aims utterly frustrated. Cromwell died, in the fullness of his work, and the Restoration swept all English Puritanism to ruin.

V.

Yet it is in their adversity that both poets are most widely remembered, and that their memory is most moving to us. And both have allowed us to see in noble poetry something of what they suffered. Dante, in the grandest of his *Canzoni* (written at an earlier period of his exile, but applying with even added force to this), tells how he saw in a vision Righteousness and her children, beggared, ragged, starving and wayworn, come, seeking shelter, to the dwelling of Love, who is the lord of Dante's life.

'They were so fair and of such surpassing goodness that Love my lord scarce dared to speak of them. Righteousness stood before him loudly wailing. Her head rested on one hand, like a broken rose on its stalk, her bare arm, a pillar of grief, felt the storm of tears that broke from her; the other hand hid her weeping face. When she had told her story, Love was for a while mute with pity and anger. Then at length, saluting the sorrowful kindred, he took out two darts: "These are the weapons I need, they are dulled as you see by disuse. Generosity and Temperance and the other sisters of our blood go begging their bread. But if that is grievous, let theirs be the weeping eyes and theirs the mourning lips whom it concerns, . . . not ours, who are hewn of the eternal rock; for, though now we be pierced, yet we shall endure, and there shall come again those that shall make

[1] In the same spirit Milton makes Christ, in *Paradise Regained*, answer Satan's offer of imperial power:—

'Who can of inward slaves make outward free?'

this dart eternally bright." Then, Dante adds, as I listened to the sorrow and consolation bestowed in this divine converse by fugitives so noble, I counted as glory the exile vouchsafed to me ; and if justice or destiny will that the world turn the white flowers dark, to perish among noble comrades is yet worthy praise.' [1]

And we see Milton projecting the shadow of his own isolation and of the ruin of the Puritan cause in the figure of the ruined hero Samson, in the prison of the Philistines,—

> Ask for this great Deliverer now, and find him
> Eyeless in Gaza, at the mill with slaves.

And Milton too finds consolation, not only in Samson's heroic end—

> Samson hath quit himself
> Like Samson, and heroicly hath finished
> A life heroic,

or in the overthrow of the Philistine power, or in his own eternal fame, but above all, in the proof that God was not parted from him, as was feared,

> But favouring and assisting to the end.

But for a full understanding of what Dante and what Milton meant by the refuge they found in the catastrophe of their political hopes, we must turn to a nearer comparison of their two great poems of Heaven and Hell.

Immeasurably different in almost every other way, the *Commedia* and *Paradise Lost* have always challenged comparison for the sublime poetry, which, in both, is won from a most reluctant and difficult subject matter, the Christian Heaven, and the Christian Hell. And this comparison is in reality one of immense and still unexhausted interest. For both poets lifted Heaven and Hell out of the category of poetic convention. The visionary journey to another world was a convention of mediæval poetry, especially in Ireland, long before Dante ; and long before Milton gods and demons had mingled, as indispensable machinery, in the epic fray. Dante created from that naive legend a symbol, of overwhelming power, for the world-dilemma of good and ill. Milton forged from the 'machinery' of epic a symbol,

[1] *Canz.*, civ. (Opere ed. Soc. Dant.). The above is compressed paraphrase.

only less tremendous, for the ways of God to man, and the ways of man to God.

Dante and Milton thus approached the poetry of Heaven and Hell by totally different routes; and it is at this point, where they most obviously challenge comparison, that we have most vividly recalled to us the gulf of time which divides them, and the stupendous things which happened in the interval. *Paradise Lost* presupposes Protestantism, and it presupposes too that vast development of man's awareness of himself, of his history, and of his powers, which we call the Renascence, or Humanism, of which Protestantism was, in some aspects, a special form.

How did these two great European movements, in both of which Milton was thus deeply rooted, affect his execution of what he himself felt to be his stupendous task,—his song

> That with no middle flight intends to soar
> Above the Aonian mount, while it pursues
> Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme?

It must be replied that Milton's Protestantism, so far as it is a distinguishable influence, has on the whole damaged *Paradise Lost;* while his Humanism has, on the whole, supported and nourished its greatest qualities. Both Protestantism and Humanism destroyed as well as rebuilt; they blotted out all that was beautiful and glorious in Catholic tradition, and all that was sublime in the scholastic philosophy. Whatever new spiritual springs they opened, to see in Rome only the Scarlet Woman of Babylon, and in the great doctors of scholasticism who were Dante's masters, only spinners of vain sophistry, meant an impoverishment of thought and knowledge which has palpably warped even the rich culture of Milton. On the other hand, the Humanist Renascence, by recovering the splendid picture of Greek antiquity, with Plato, and Sophocles, and the dazzling beauty of the Homeric gods and heroes as its crown, had not only inspired such impassioned outbursts as Marlowe's address to Helen—'Was this the face that launched the thousand ships, and burned the topless towers of Ilion,' or Hamlet's 'What a piece of work is a man, how noble in reason! how infinite in faculty! in action how like an angel, in apprehension how like a god!'—it had not only inspired these and similar ecstatic utterances, it had permanently made the form and mind of man the measure and standard, when it was not the theme, of serious art.

Among other consequences was the banishment from that art, even where it lingered in belief, of the grotesqueness, the ugliness, and foulness of the mediæval Hell. And the great legislator of antiquity, Aristotle, had powerfully enforced this disposition when, in the one work which the age of Dante did not know, he treated poetry as an 'imitation' (however idealized), of men in action.[1]

Had Dante known the *Poetics*, with its pervading assumption that Homeric epic and Sophoclean tragedy are the only possible ways of great poetry, would he have designed the *Commedia* as he did? Probably; since his aim was not primarily to write a great poem, but to show the way to salvation here and hereafter. And we see with what sovran security of judgment he sets aside, as irrelevant for his purpose, the work of the poet whom he hailed as the honour and the light of other poets, the book which had so long been the object of his devoted study.[2] Milton's haughty self-esteem would never have permitted him to address even a great poet of antiquity in these terms of devout discipleship. But he is far too deeply rooted in the Renascence to be able thus without effort or hesitation to set aside antique example. He had resolved to write a great poem which the world would not willingly let die, and both form and subject were long in doubt. But one point was fixed from the first; the great poem was to be one of the two kinds counted supreme by Aristotle—epic and tragedy—conceived as Aristotle conceived them. Milton's poetic originality was perhaps not less than Dante's, but it showed itself in astonishing transformations of traditional classic forms, not in new creation. *Paradise Lost* is, in all essentials, a classical epic, with a hero, who errs and suffers, a conflict in which divine beings take part, and a tragic catastrophe. Powerfully as Dante must have appealed to him, he can never for a moment have thought of 'imitating' his poem any more than he thought of imitating the poem of another poet whom he deeply honoured; a Protestant *Commedia* is as inconceivable from Milton as a Puritan *Faery Queene*. For neither of these great poems was an epic in the classic sense; though the modern will be apt to say, in Dante's case, that this was because the conception of classic epic is transcended in that of a poem of which the 'hero' is

[1] *Poetics*, § 2.

[2] *Inf.* i. 79 f. The *Æneid*, as a whole, is not the less set aside because the *Commedia* is based upon one of its episodes.

not a man but humanity; in which the poet, instead of effacing himself, as Aristotle requires,[1] is in the centre of the picture throughout; and in which, instead of watching in suspense the vicissitudes of a great conflict of men or of peoples, we follow step by step the disclosure of the operation, in the universe, of eternal law.

VI.

How then did the Humanism and the Protestantism of Milton affect his presentation of Heaven and Hell? Roughly, by setting upon both the stamp of classical Humanism, and effacing the stamp of mediæval Catholicism. The mind of Dante, we know, in many ways reached far beyond his mediæval environment, to Humanist days and to our own, but not in this way. We must not be misled, by his ineffably beautiful reverence for Virgil, and for Virgil's beautiful style, from which he thought he had learnt his own, to suppose that he is Roman in temper. With unconscious irony he has made Virgil his guide through a Hell in which every trace of the Virgilian Hades has been replaced by the intenser horror, grotesqueness, and loathsomeness of the mediæval Inferno, whereas Milton's Hell, though far from being Virgil's, is full of Virgilian reminiscence.

Almost as decisively as from the mediæval Inferno, Milton turned away from the singular compromise between the mediæval and classical Hell familiar to him in Tasso. The fiends of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* are in essence mediæval devils disguised under the names and characteristics of the more monstrous figures of Greek myth:

'Here were to be seen a thousand foul Harpies, and a thousand Centaurs and Sphinxes, and pale Gorgons, hosts of greedy Scillas barking, Hydras and Pythons hissing, and Chimæras vomiting black sparks, and horrible Polyphemes and Geryons, and different semblances blended together in new monsters never seen or heard before.'[2]

Pluto sits in the midst, and he bears clear marks of the mediæval devil: the great horns, the flaming eyes, and mouth foul with black blood, whence stench and dark blasts and sparks, and sulphurous fumes. He is also of colossal scale, so that Atlas and Calpe would seem small beside him.

But human dignity and grandeur are visibly struggling through these traits. The great horns rise from a 'great brow,' the sign of

[1] *Poetics*, § 24. [2] *G.L.*, iv., 4 f.

intellect (reserved in mediæval painting for saints). The awful (*orrida*) majesty of his *fero aspetto* heightens terror and his own pride: and his eye flashes venomously like a comet of ill omen; the great beard descends tangled over his shaggy breast.

And he is human in his grief for the lost heaven; and not as a place of physical satisfactions only; but for the golden sunlight, and the fair revolving stars (iv. 10). His oration to the assembled fiends has all the dignity of lofty counsel; and his hearers too acquire the elevation of fallen angels. His opening words recall their former state:

'Tartarean Powers, worthier to sit above the sun, your original seat.'

In these human touches Tasso's tender nature anticipated Milton. And on the other hand, while discarding all the other monstrous traits of sub- or super-humanity, so carefully collected by Tasso, Milton has retained that of colossal scale ('His staff, to equal which,' etc.). Chateaubriand (*Génie du Christianisme*, iv., 9) thought this a regrettable lapse ('*Milton a eu un moment le mauvais goût de mesurer son Satan*'), in a description which as a whole he thought unmatched by anything in Homer. And he contrasted both Dante and Tasso, to their great disadvantage, with Milton in this point:

'L'imagination de Dante, épuisée (!) par neuf cercles de tortures, n'a fait de Satan enclavé au centre de la terre qu'un monstre odieux; le Tasso, en lui donnant des cornes, l'a presque rendu ridicule.'

In the same spirit Macaulay contrasted Dante's devils, 'ugly spiteful executioners,' with Milton's glorious fiends. Dante's position was, from a modern standpoint, naive enough. The devils were embodiments of evil; they must, therefore, look like what they are; so he denudes them of every grace and charm, and makes them not only ugly, but loathsome. His Hell knows not only the poetic tortures of fire and ice, but the revolting ones of foul stenches, and swallowed ordure. But even the indescribable grossness with which a devil takes himself off at the end of Canto XXX. is not a blot on the exquisite delicacy of the poet; Dante laid a patch of black on his canvas simply because he was painting devils, and meant to paint them just as black as they were.

But clearly this is not the method that controls the artistry of *Comus* or of *Paradise Lost*. So jealous is Milton of the flawless

beauty of his Masque, that 'the rout of Monsters' who follow Comus, and even the 'Country Dancers' who towards the close intervene with their rustic 'duck and nod,' are kept out of the verse and disposed of in a line or two of contemptuous stage direction; while Comus himself, the chief sinner, is clothed in every attribute of grace and brilliance. This first Miltonic devil has the fascination of his mother Circe, and the 'clustering locks with ivy berries wreathed' of his father Bacchus; he has the soul of music in him, as Milton himself had, and at the Lady's Song he forgets the mischief he is out for in that wonderful outburst—

> Can any mortal mixture of earth's mould
> Breathe such divine inchanting ravishment?
> Sure something holy lodges in that breast,
> And with these raptures moves the vocal air
> To testify his hidden residence.
> How sweetly did they float upon the wings
> Of silence, thro' the empty-vaulted night,
> At every fall smoothing the raven down
> Of darkness till it smiled! . . .

In the lower logic of common sense, too, if not in the higher logic of the spirit the pleading of Comus in the great temptation scene surpasses that of the radiant champion of Chastity herself. And when Milton, a quarter of a century later, gathered himself together to depict the powers of evil not contriving the harms in a gracious idyll, but frustrating the purposes of God in the creation of Man, he is no less remote from the mediæval presentation of devilry. No one who reads Milton's superb vindication of the purity of his life, can doubt that this Puritan abhorred evil as intensely as did the Catholic Dante. Something other than moral laxity must therefore be called in to explain how differently Satan, the author of evil in the world, and arch-rebel against God, fares at the hands of these two great poets. They used the same legends and meant fundamentally the same thing. Why is it that Milton's Satan, though fallen from heaven, remains a magnificent embodiment of the heroic character, who compels us to think, not of any embodiment of Evil, but of the Greek Prometheus, the champion of humanity tortured by a tyrannic and offended God, like him? Why is his vindictive stubbornness glorified as that resolution never to despair or yield, which nerves the martyr and the patriot to endure to the end? Why, again, are our nerves never harrowed by the

torments of this hell in which he is plunged? The 'penal fire' gives no light; but it also seems to give no pain; physical anguish is alluded to, not described; what tortures Satan, as it does Shelley's Prometheus, is 'the thought' of pain ever for ever, and this is less bitter than the thought of his 'lost happiness.'[1] But turn to Dante. His Satan is encountered at the end of their awful descent into the yawning City of Dis, frozen fast in the lowest depth of Hell, the 'Emperor of that dolorous realm.' And this ice, unlike Milton's flame, is real. Was ever a sudden horrible cold made more thrillingly real than by Dante's words:—

'How icy chill and hoarse I became, ask not, O reader. . . . I did not die and did not remain alive; now think for thyself, if thou hast a grain of wit, what I became, being deprived both of death and life.'[2] And this Satan is ruthlessly despoiled of all the glory of his former state, not only of its 'excess.' Of 'his original brightness' his form retains not a trace. He is as ugly now, says Dante, as he was beauteous once. He has three faces, fiery red, whity-brown and black, on the same head, and six wings like a bat's, and shaggy sides tangled and frozen, and he weeps with six eyes, and down three chins gush tears and bloody foam, for his three mouths champ three sinners—the most abhorred by Dante in the whole Inferno—Judas, Brutus and Cassius, the traitors to God and to God's vicegerent Cæsar. Note in passing that Milton gives his archangel Raphael six wings;[3] but this only marks once more the relative failure of Milton's art in heaven. His Satan neither has nor needs these decorations.

Now if we compare these pictures of Hell, we must recognise that the artistry of Humanism has not, after all, superseded that of the middle ages without much compensation. The Greek doctrine that as the deeds and sufferings of man are the proper matter of poetry, so the human form and personality, the most perfect that we know, ought to be the controlling type even in portraying supernatural beings, had the strength and also the weakness of the postulate that man is the measure of all things, on which it rests. Passion and thought, even in the gods, must be our passion and thought if they are to move us; even the Hebraic Jahve, declaring to Job how unfathomable his ways are to human apprehension, must declare it in speech that not only finds

[1] *P.L.*, i., 56 f. [2] *Inf.*, xxxiv. 22 f. [3] *P.L.*, 276.

access to the human intellect, but thrills it with 'sacred and home-felt delight.' And even more, the attempt to give outward shape to passion and thought like ours, or greater than ours, must borrow, if only as symbol, the human form divine. The three faces, with three champing mouths and six wings, are monstrosities which destroy the terribleness of Lucifer instead of multiplying it, as Dante meant, and are, therefore, an artistic blunder provoked by his hate. Conversely, the one noble touch is that where, with his superb sense of justice, Dante tells us, in the midst of this picture of hideous torture, how the Stoic Brutus, possessing his soul as ever, traitor to Cæsar though he was, 'uttered not a groan.' And it is the glory of the *Inferno* that, though the tortures are real, as they are not in Milton's Hell, Dante again and again breaks free from the theological implications of his theme, and allows the Spirit of man to emancipate the victims from their doom, as when Farinata rears himself up in his icy pit, as if in scorn of Hell ;[1] or when Ulysses in the midst of the flame, remembers the great heartening words he had uttered to his desponding comrades, as he was leading them out on that last voyage to discover 'the unpeopled land towards the sunset.'[2]

Now the same emancipating spirit of man which lifts so many of Dante's eternally damned above the implications of their condition, has lifted Milton's entire Hell, with some reserves, out of the traditions of the mediæval Inferno. Not only Satan, but his companions, are human warriors and counsellors of the grandest type. These fiends, in their frozen or fiery abode, hunt and climb, hold sports like the comrades of Aeneas, discuss philosophy like the Stoic academe ; and the debate in Pandemonium is worthy of the loftiest achievements of the Roman Senate or the English Parliament, while Pandemonium itself is a pillared fabric like the Forum or the Parthenon.

Milton's classic humanism here found magnificent, and it may well be thought triumphant, expression. But one can imagine Dante saying to Milton in the after-world : 'Yes, your fiends are certainly more sublime and intellectual, and your Hell altogether more humane, more civilized, than mine. But do they express evil as intensely ?' And Milton felt this himself. For he had the Hebrew hate of sin as well as the Greek passion for beauty, and instead of being brought into

[1] *Inf.*, x. 36. [2] *Ibid.*, xxvi. 112 f.

wonderful accord as they are in the vast synthetic soul of Dante, and the synthetic universe of the Comedy, these instincts jostle and contend and invade one another's territories. So Milton, after creating his glorious Satan, felt compunction lest the author of Evil should be taken for the hero of his great poem ; and besides stripping him of his noble human form, and transforming him into a serpent, pursues him all through the later books of the poem with fierce abuse and reproof. But this was not the only disharmony which has left its mark in the great poem. Milton's Puritanism was not only at odds with his Hellenism, it was divided against itself. If its ethical and religious element, the Hebraic passion for righteousness, made for the degradation and humiliation of Satan, the political passion of the republican involuntarily ennobled and glorified the assertor of liberty against the enthroned despot in heaven, thus concurring, though from a different angle, with the poet and the Hellenist. The magnificence of Milton's style creates an aura of illusion in which these dissonances are scarcely perceived ; but the psychological rifts they denote Milton never overcame.

VII.

But when he approached the problem of representing, not Hell, or Earth, but Heaven, not fiends or men, but the central mysteries and Persons of the Christian faith, both his Hellenism and his Protestantism were put to far severer tests. We might well imagine when we read the sublime prologue of *Paradise Lost*, or the yet more explicit Invocation at the opening of the Seventh Book, that Milton was in reality breaking free from the compelling magic of those antique poets, and that his song, pursuing 'things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme' would not only soar above the Aonian mount,—the classical Parnassus,—but would radically reject its inspiration. We seem to be listening to the trumpet-blast of one stepping out on an undiscovered shore ; we think (as Milton himself obviously thought) of Lucretius, proclaiming with an ardour more ingenuously ecstatic than Milton, that he is setting foot on the virgin soil of a new poetry, to cull flowers never borne on a poet's brow before. But the very phrasing of that invocation betrays how conservative Milton's poetic radicalism really is. His 'heavenly' Muse, Urania, is no angel, but a true sister of the Nine ; and the 'Aonian mount,' though he soar above it, determines the locus of his

path. It is the epic masters of Greece with whom he hopes to be equalled in renown.[1] So, in the Nativity Ode of his youth, you hear through all the eloquence of the young Christian, triumphing in the birth of Christ, the pathos of the scholar mourning with the Nymphs and Tyrian maids over the passing of the pagan world.

But was the Hellenic, or humanist, method of rendering the divine necessarily inadequate? We remember the Zeus of Phidias, the glorious Hermes of Praxiteles, and hesitate perhaps. Certainly the fundamental dilemma of reconciling divinity with anthropomorphism is not removed by any such examples. The infinite presence which the mystic apprehends, the something deeply interfused in Nature and in the mind of man, is not even distantly suggested by these radiant beings. Milton, no doubt, did not approach the divine by the mystic way at all. But he has lost needlessly in richness and depth of suggestion by clinging, we are tempted to say superstitiously, to the anthropomorphism of his Greek masters where a totally different poetic method, a bolder use of symbols, which do not denote but suggest, would have enabled him to capture more of those mysterious overtones which we hear so rarely in Milton's heaven. With this 'superstitious' fidelity to Hellenism—notwithstanding the lofty professions of his prologue—where Hellenism no longer avails, we cannot but contrast Dante's quiet but unquestioning dismissal of his beloved pagan Master when Virgil has performed his charge and reached the boundary of his power. Virgil passes out of the story at the gate of the Earthly Paradise, and Beatrice is henceforth Dante's guide, through a Paradise utterly alien in inspiration as in structure to the Virgilian Elysium. We shall see presently what this means.

In Milton's rendering of the divine, we find the stamp certainly of great poetry and of profound religion. But both in a kind sharply contrasted with Dante's. His cosmic imagination was no less vast in compass; the Miltonic universe is, even in mere scale, far vaster; for the whole planetary system is there suspended like a drop from Heaven. None the less, its material bigness rather obstructs than contributes to

[1] Cf. Dante's description (*Inf.*, iv. 94 f.) of the five great ancient poets of his reckoning—Homer, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Lucan—welcoming him in limbo as the 'sixth' in their company. Of Lucretius he knew nothing. Carducci similarly enumerated five great Italian sonneteers,—himself 'not sixth but last.'

its religious expressiveness ; its height and depth do separate us from that love of God of which Dante's universe is but the visible and articulate embodiment. Of the mystic intuition so richly possessed by the Vaughans and Crashaws of his time, Milton had not a trace ; and nothing of all that he writes so magnificently of the infinite and eternal God approaches Dante's vision in power of symbolizing that secure oneness under the shows and changes of the world which the mystic apprehends.

And unfortunately Milton does not, in this crucial part of his work, blind us by splendour of workmanship to these imperfections of his spiritual tools. It is just here that his Protestantism occasions the two gravest flaws in the whole poem,—the argumentative 'School-divine' God ; and the grotesque satiric cartoon of the Limbo of fools—the destined abode of the fatuous drift of the future world,—

> Embryos and idols, eremites and friars,
> Black, white, and grey, with all their trumpery.

Can this Limbo, on 'the backside of the World,' beyond the planets and the fixed stars, really be the same place as Dante's Empyrean ? When we reflect that the same ascent through circling spheres which for Dante led to the presence and the immediate vision of God, leads for Milton to a kind of waste dumping-ground for all the human rubbish of the world, we have a measure—not, it is true, of any difference in the genius of the poets,—but certainly of the decay which, a hundred years after Copernicus, had stricken that once magnificent mediæval dream of the circling heavens penetrated by the splendour of God.

And if his Protestantism here injures Milton's work, his Hellenism may be almost said to break in his hands. Certainly it fails to give his human God the full glory of humanity. The divine Father is irresolute ; mercy and justice towards men strive in his countenance ; he is like a man of two minds, not like Bacon's God, who sees, whole and indivisible, the truth men see in fragments and warring antitheses.

How unlike Dante, who with sublime daring, made the eternal bliss of Paradise and the eternal torment of Hell equally the creation of the divine Love, a doctrine which shatters every anthropomorphic conception. Nor is there a trace of anthropomorphism in the vision of God which Dante himself at the close of his great poem attained.

There is no voice nor sound, such as Hebrew prophets had ascribed to their Jahve when he passed by in the storm or rebuked the questioning of Job. Divine exhortations, much more explanations of the divine attributes, could not, for Dante, even in figure, be ascribed to God Himself. All that is told of God before his supreme vision is told by the mouth of saints and apostles, or by the inspired lips of Beatrice. Only one of the senses is allowed to provide a symbol for the divine nature, as Dante understood it,—the sense by which we receive the first-created 'offspring of God,' the splendour of light which penetrates the universe; the splendour by which mystical seers have constantly sought to express the ineffable; the Light to which Milton, to whom it would never more return, addressed his majestic adoration as he prepared to tell, less worthily, of the debate in heaven.[1] And Milton himself uses this image when he makes the angels address God as—

> Fountain of light, thyself invisible
> Amidst the glorious brightness where thou sitt'st
> Throned inaccessible.[2]

But this God, who '*sits throned*,' is already made 'accessible' and familiar in a fashion which seems almost profane when we set it beside the awful absoluteness of Dante's God as conveyed to us by Dante's symbol. Many others had conceived a God who is infinite, beyond time and space, transcending the universe, but also immanent in it; but the empty negations in which they sought to express this absolute nature left the mind cold. Dante found a symbol of an intensity which creates a soul under the ribs of these abstract negations, and compels us to see that his God is only aloof from all the determinations of human existence because He is at the heart of reality, and that He is beyond Time and Space only because He is the concentrated essence of every *Where* and every *When*. And what is this symbol? A point of dazzling light, 'so small that the smallest star would seem a moon beside it,'[3] but radiating splendour through the universe. It is introduced, not as Milton introduces his God, as the object of a hymn of adoring angels, but in one of those homely images which at every step, even in the *Paradiso*, almost persuade us that Dante is telling us of what had happened to him, not of what he had dreamed:

[1] *P.L.*, iii. 1 f. [2] *Ibid.*, 375 f. [3] *Par.* xxviii. 16 f.

'As in the mirror a taper's flame, kindled behind a man, is seen of him ere itself be in his sight or thought, and he turns back to see whether the glass speak truth to him, and finds that it accords as music with its time, . . . so it chanced to me, gazing upon the beauteous eyes of Beatrice; and when I turned, and mine own were smitten by the glory of heaven, . . . a point I saw which rayed forth light so keen that the eye it flamed upon must needs close because of its strong poignancy.'

Dante cannot yet bear the intolerable splendour; he is not yet qualified for the supreme vision. By gradual steps, which heighten our suspense of expectation, that crowning experience, the goal of all his longings, is approached. It is Bernard, the saint of ecstatic contemplation, who guides and supports him when—'clothed in the glory of Mary as the morning star in the glory of the sun'[1]— his eyes, at length purged of illusion, begin to penetrate further and further into the deep light which is very truth. Nor does it now blind him; on the contrary, his sight has become so at one with that eternal radiance that it would have been blinded had he turned away. The vision was momentary. But memory, divinely reinforced, made him aware by the throb of an ampler joy (91-93) that he had seen in the depths of that light,—the scattered leaves of the universe gathered into one book by Love; all existences and their attributes and relations fused, as it were, together in a single flame, the universal essence of all Being. And as his mind hangs suspended on that inner vision, from which it is utterly incapable of turning away, it penetrates deeper yet and discerns in the Innermost that for which speech is as an infant's babble,—but which his stammering tongue can only call three Circles, distinct in colour, equal in dimensions, of which the Second seemed to reflect the First, but also to bear within it the semblance of the human form. How can the circle and the image, the divine and the human, consort? He grapples vainly with the mystery like a geometer striving to square the circle. For he is there to learn not absolute Truth, but perfect Will; and in the irradiating flash which smites his brain, that Will is born. The vision breaks, for power to sustain it fails. But already all desire is at one with the Love which moves the sun and the other stars.

In this great closing and culminating scene of the *Comedy*, Dante has reached the heights both of religion and poetry. He had the soul

[1] *Par.* xxxii. 106.

of both in him. In his poet's imagination the universe was mirrored with unapproached intensity and articulateness. The circling spheres of heaven, and the crowded pages of history, were all reflected there. But this living and moving universe was the figured veil of a spaceless and timeless infinity, whose robe of reflected splendour man could ecstatically contemplate, but whose mysterious being he could never, save in a great imagined experience like this, approach. This is Dante's God,—the God of Catholic theology, released from the abstract formulas of the schools by the transfiguring imagination of a sublime poet and the awestruck reticence of a great mystic ; so as to become at once more overwhelming and more impalpable, more all-pervading and more utterly unapproachable, behind the half-revealing, half-veiling symbol.[1]

VIII.

From these striking divergences let us turn to a point, more fundamental, but less often if ever noticed, in which the two great poems converge. What is their underlying purpose ? What are they *about ?* Each poet has told us plainly. The *Divine Comedy* is the story of how Dante, baffled by the failure of the State to govern and of the Church to guide, was shown by Virgil 'another way' to the lost Paradise of earthly happiness, and finally by Beatrice to the heaven of eternal welfare. Its aim, as Dante tells us, was to show how men at large might thus escape from misery in this life, and win happiness hereafter. He shows it by revealing with an intensity and range of power unapproached in poetry elsewhere, the nature of good and evil, and what the choice between them means. And Milton's *Paradise Lost*, in its final effect if not in original intention, is an intimation, also, to the ruined army of Puritanism, that there was another way which the individual soul could traverse by its own insight and resolution alone. His subject gave no help here ; for the legend of Eden is a tragedy of moral failure and outer ruin,—the very opposite of Dante's glorious ascent from the gates of Hell to the heights of Paradise. But through the pessimism of the legend there blows an impalpable wind of fortifying hope and heroic resolve, felt

[1] Dante's symbol of the point of intense light was perhaps suggested by St. Augustine's description in the *Confessions* (vii., 10), of the mysterious eye of the soul as it gazes on the light that never changes.

henceforth by every combatant in a forlorn but divine cause. We cannot compare this impalpable breath with the magnificent spiritual armour fashioned for the whole world by Dante. But is there no parallel intention? Consider a moment two memorable Scenes in the two poems.

At the brink of the Earthly Paradise Virgil, unable to guide him further, takes leave of Dante. It is a kind of emancipation; Dante, until the coming of Beatrice, is authorised to be guided by his own judgment and assured that it will guide him right.

'Free, sound and upright is thy will, and it were an error not to follow it; wherefore I crown and mitre thee king and bishop of thyself.'[1]

To the modern reader this is one of the most thrilling moments in the whole *Comedy*, and we may be sure that Milton, who had struck such formidable blows at kings and bishops, found it as stirring as we. And I think that Milton remembered that sublime parting and those parting words when he planned that other farewell scene, the parting of Adam and Michael at the gates of Eden near the close of *Paradise Lost*. Led by Michael, whom he repeatedly addresses as his 'Guide' (xi. 371, 674), Adam too has climbed a hill to the highest point of Paradise whence he is about to be driven; there he has the vision of the future of the newly created world. Adam instantly grasps the meaning of what he sees; his inner vision has been purified, and he knows how the Paradise lost by disobedience can be regained by heroic suffering for Truth's sake. To which Michael replies:—

> This having learned, thou hast attained the sum
> Of wisdom; hope no higher, tho' all the stars
> Thou knew'st by name. . . . only add
> Deeds to thy knowledge answerable; add faith,
> Add virtue, patience, temperance; add love,
> By name to come called Charity, the soul
> Of all the rest: then wilt thou not be loth
> To leave this Paradise, but shalt possess
> A Paradise within thee, happier far.[2]

His 'one bad act,' he is expressly told, he may 'cover by many good.' Adam may in fact redeem himself. He too is, in being expelled, at the same time emancipated, and made, like Dante in the Earthly Paradise, king and bishop over himself.

[1] *Purg.*, xxvii. 140 f. [2] *P.L.*, xii. 575 f.

We must not push these suggestions, or these parallels, too far. Milton beyond question believed in the Redemption by Christ; Paradise was lost for Man until a greater Man restore us and regain the blissful seat. And Dante's emancipation was a limited emancipation valid only until the coming of Beatrice. But the words of great poets are apt to be pregnant with larger meanings than they express or intend. The conviction that man in the last resort must *choose* his faith is not contained in Dante's words, but it is not foreign to them. And the way in which Milton has handled that regaining of Paradise in his second poem may well warn us that the doctrine of Christ's Atonement for Man on the Cross did not appeal to the deepest part of Milton's nature or to his most passionate faith. Christ there wins Paradise not by his death but by a victorious conflict between his nobler reason, in obedience to God, and the seductions to appetite and ambition offered by Satan.[1] It is a victory such as every man is daily called to achieve. And Milton sees behind the figure of his Jesus the whole great company of saintly men, who similarly by Conscience, fortified and illuminated by divine grace, had conquered in that struggle. For his larger faith, Paradise is regained by Greater Man, indeed, by holy souls, as he says in the great prose Treatise on Christian Doctrine, 'of widely separated countries and of all ages from the foundation of the world.' Man, in other words, for Milton, must be saved by Humanity. The framework of the doctrine of the Fall and the Redemption stands intact in his mind, but its implication, the radical badness of fallen human nature, is undermined by the invincible faith which Humanism had restored to Christianity, that human nature, being created by God, cannot be radically bad; that matter itself, and thence 'the flesh,' was created by God out of his own nature, and must thence be divine.[2] Milton does not break into Hamlet's ecstasy over this wondrous piece of work, Man, and this goodly frame the earth; but working wholly with theological arguments, and supporting his assertions at every step on biblical texts, he arrives at a view as fully emancipated as Shakespeare's from the mediæval condemnation of matter, and even foreshadowing, as Shake-

[1] Saurat, *La Pensée de Milton*, 183.

[2] *Treatise on Christian Doctrine*, p. 180 (Bohn): 'Matter . . . proceeded incorruptible from God; and even since the fall it remains incorruptible in essence.'

speare does not, the modern conception of a continuous evolution from the lowest forms of being to the highest. It is not that he had a trace of scientific interest or vision ; his thinking was utterly aloof from that of Bacon or Hobbes. He was simply a poet, with a poet's instinct for discovering everywhere, by whatever name he call it, the divine ; and a fearless Christian thinker, who dared to draw logical conclusions from S. Paul's assertion 'that of God, and through Him, and to Him, are all things.'[1] Dante in the same spirit, and with the security of his mediæval faith, had quoted even Lucan's assertion that 'Jupiter is all that thou seest and whithersoever thou movest.'[2] So the created world, as described by Raphæl to Adam, is not only a collection of radically diverse kinds, but a 'gradual scale' up which every order of being strives to ascend, and does ascend.[3]

> So from the root
> Springs lighter the green stalk ; from thence the leaves
> More aerie ; last the bright consumate flower
> Spirits odorous breathes ; flowers and their fruit
> (Man's nourishment) by gradual scale sublimed
> To vital spirits aspire, to animal,
> To intellectual ; give both life and sense,
> Fancy, and understanding ; whence the Soul
> Reason receives ; and reason is her being.

Thus 'body up to spirit works' ; for Milton, as for Tyndall two centuries later, 'matter' held the promise and the potency of life, and of life in its highest spiritual reach.

Thus the great poem which Milton gave to the English people in what he thought, and we shall hardly dissent, one of the darkest hours of its spiritual life, was grounded on an implicit faith in the power of man to reach the heights of being. This faith is not proclaimed, it was hardly perhaps consciously formulated ; but it breathes like a subtle uplifting atmosphere through the framework of dogma, tacitly altering its complexion and accent.

And this faith in man's power of unlimited spiritual advance was the presumption and the basis of all that Milton had to say to his people in their present catastrophe.

It was, and had always been, the ground of his demand for liberty

[1] *Treatise on Christian Doctrine*, p. 178.
[2] *Epist.*, x. [3] *P.L.*, v. 469 f.

in Church and State; for the liberty he claimed was liberty to follow the leading of his inner light, without interference or compulsion. The conviction that man, left unconstrained, would, through trial and error, follow the lead, inspired the *Areopagitica*. The decade of momentous political experience which divides the *Areopagitica* from the close of *Paradise Lost* left Milton perhaps less assured of the capacity of 'God's Englishman' for self-guidance than of old. Bitter jibes at the multitude escape him; and his last desperate plan for a republican government, on the eve of the Restoration, is the reverse of democratic.

But the overthrow of outer political liberty could never touch the inner liberty of the choosing spirit. Comus cannot touch the freedom of the Lady's mind, with all his charms,—

> altho' this corporal rind
> Thou hast immanacled while Heaven sees good.
> Nor can Church and State in league
> unbuild
> [God's] living temples, built by faith to stand,
> Their own faith, not another's.

For 'true liberty,' as Michæl tells Adam,

> always with right reason dwells
> Twinned, and from her hath no dividual being.[1]

To fail in that freedom of right reason, of disciplined obedience to a divine command, was to incur Milton's impassioned scorn. Adam had so failed, and the very place and scene of that failure, the Paradise he had betrayed, is visited with that scorn. Dante shows us the Paradise to which he is led by Virgil, arrayed in all the blissful loveliness of the Paradise which Adam lost. Dante certainly did not imagine the Italy he longed for and laboured to shape, as at all like the Earthly Paradise he described. But he accepted it as a symbol of the beauty and the guarded security of his ideal. Whereas Milton, bent on making clear that the new Paradise, when won, would be not only better than the old but utterly unlike it, dismisses Eden as a vain and useless remnant[2]—

[1] *P.L.*, xii. 83 f. [2] *P.L.*, xi. 831 f.

pushed by the horned flood
With all his verdure spoiled, and trees adrift,
Down the great River, to the opening Gulf,
There to take root, an island salt and bare,
The haunt of seals, and orcs, and sea-mews clang,—
To teach thee that God attributes to place
No sanctity, if none be thither brought
By men who there frequent or therein dwell.

IX.

The divergence, slight as it seems, is one of those that often provide a clue to the profoundest distinctions in the temper and make of genius. Milton, with all his massiveness and range of mind, is a radical of genius and faith, pushing on to the things that are before and rejecting, often with contumely, the things that are behind. Dante too looks before, but with a yet more devoted gaze he looks behind, and giving his life to the task of bringing cosmos out of the chaos of his country, yet conceives the cosmos as the restoration of a shattered harmony, the building up once more of the spoiled and ravaged City of God. Both men had, to a degree hardly paralleled in modern poetry, the prophetic fire, and Dante's fire blasted with even more deadly effect than Milton's the evil things he assailed. But Dante had also, and in yet more surpassing measure, the sympathetic and synthetic imagination which enables a poet of the Sophoclean or Shakespearean type, so far as we can judge, to bring all the elements of a vast culture harmoniously together, to 'see life thoroughly and to see it whole.' It is clear, indeed, that this synthetic unification of experience, so impressive in the *Divine Comedy*, was immeasurably more difficult for a Puritan scholar of the seventeenth century than for a Catholic of the fourteenth. The universe, as interpreted by the Catholic philosophy in which Dante grew up, was already an ordered whole. The elements of future disruption were still innocuous. Aristotle had been built into the fabric of Catholic doctrine. The Roman empire had prepared the cradle for the Church ; Christ and Moses did not yet 'clash.' The Earth, still circled by the Sun and the other stars, did not yet 'move.' For an English Puritan scholar of Milton's time, a synthesis so comprehensive was impossible. He had access to domains of experience unknown to Dante or Aquinas ; he saw more clearly some things in the domain they knew. But his vaster field was illumined

by cross and conflicting lights. Humanism and religion, man and God, antiquity and the modern world, were no longer elements in an ordered whole but centres of unresolved contradiction. By substituting belief in the letter of the Bible for belief in the Church, Protestantism, whatever advantage it gained in other ways, drove a fissure between Christian and antique thought which for Dante did not exist. Hence Milton's allegiance to Scripture and antiquity is an uneasy and never completely reconciled compromise, whereas Dante with complete consistency and unclouded serenity can present himself as at once the follower of Virgil the supreme poet, the disciple of Aristotle, 'master of those who know,' and the servant of Christ. Milton, standing where he did, could not have escaped these dissonances ; but they were accentuated in him by a deficiency in the imaginative sympathy in which Dante, with all his dogmatic limitations, was so rich, and with which lesser contemporaries of his own, like Donne, and Sir Thomas Browne, were more abundantly endowed than he. In prophetic grandeur Milton at his highest is unsurpassed. But it is the grandeur of a lonely prophet, of a voice in the wilderness, inspired by God only, of a star that dwells apart. Whereas the prophetic grandeur of Dante is that of one who, if his voice has for the time no echo, knows that he is choragus of an unnumbered multitude, that he has on his side all history and all knowledge, the nature of Man, and the Love that made and moves the universe. The sustained magnificence of *Paradise Lost* was meant for an audience fit but few ; the *Comedy*, charged with a message for humanity, was adapted to the *loquutio vulgaris in qua mulierculae communicant*, and reaches the heights of poetry in lines and phrases of ineffable simplicity.

And Milton, with all that commanding force which makes us wish that he were living at this hour, to stir this fen of stagnant waters ; which makes us feel that we must be free or die who hold his faith ;— Milton with all this is a lesser spirit than Dante ; in part because Protestantism, it may be, in its historic compass and richness, is less than Catholicism, and because this inferiority is not outweighed by the superior range and freedom of Milton's Humanist outlook. Dante won the reward which belongs to those whose whole being is set upon the things that go to the root of life : however perishable the materials which he built into his work, it remains and will remain ; though his outer life was a ruin, and his citizenship a hunger and thirst for duties

denied him, and his speculation thridded with untenable propositions, yet the soul of Dante emerges from those fragments and failures a marvel of rounded completeness, rich alike in the fruit it garners up and in the seed it scatters. Well might Dante's most kindred spirit among Italians, Michelangelo, cry : ' The work of Dante and his noble aim were ignored by that ungrateful people among whom all prosper but the just. Yet were I only in his place ! Had I been born to a like fate—

> To have his bitter exile, and his worth,
> I'd give the lot most blessed upon earth.[1]

[1] *Rime :* Sonnetto XXXI. : A Dante Alighieri.

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE APOCALYPSE—RECENT INVESTIGATIONS.

By H. C. HOSKIER.

IV.

Apoc. 130.

So far from exhausting the subject in our last, we now approach another problem of deepest interest in the history of the transmission of the text, and have to consider another early cursive, this time at Mount Athos.

Apoc. 130 (Ac. 359, P. 452) = Athos Iberorum 25 = Greg. 130 (Ac. 359, P. 452) [S. XI]

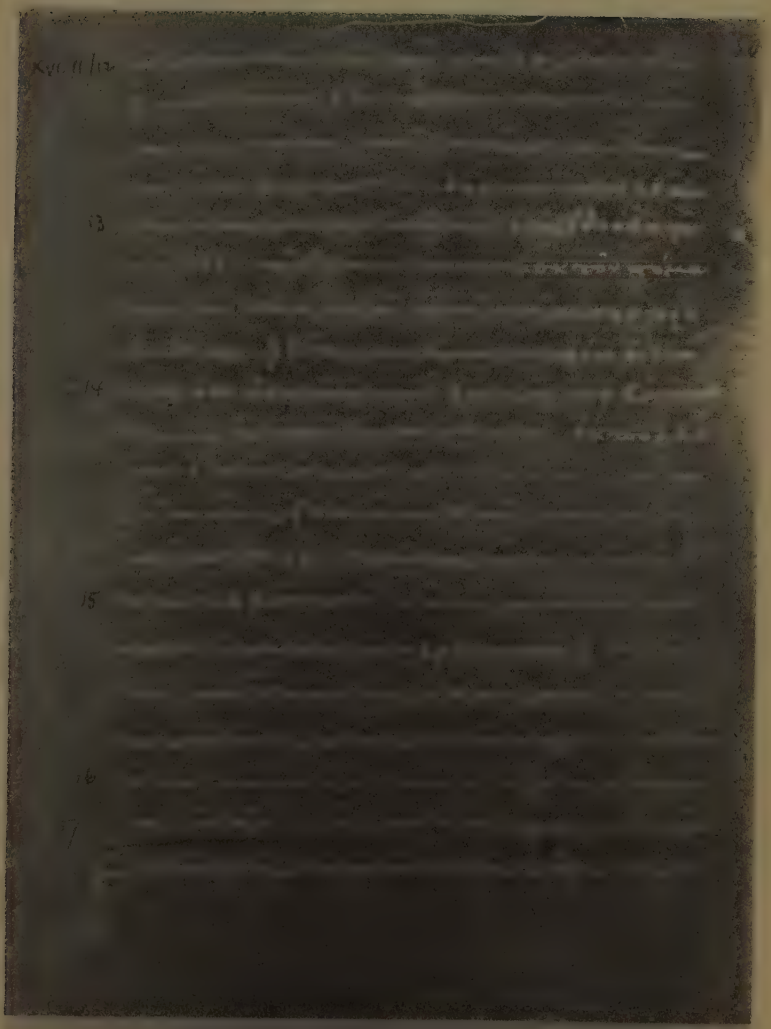
(Collated in 1921 from photographs made in 1913).

This very exceptional MS. has a magnificent foundation text, most unfortunately spoiled by some over-eager seventh-century rehandling.

Its original polyglot base is veneered with a much later strain of eclectic polyglot readings and re-renderings. In other words, what we had hoped, when we first ran through it, might prove to be a mine of wealth to check our existing material, proves, upon deeper examination, to be a source contaminated—not by the scribe—but by his forerunners.

In nearly every other verse we have a new reading, frequently, however, supported by the oldest MSS. of the Versions—*Syriac*, *Sahidic*, *Bohairic*, *Latin*, and we even run sometimes to the most ancient Greek underlying the *Aethiopic*.[1]

[1] As at IX. 4 ἀλλὰ for εἰ μὴ absolutely alone with *aeth*, which is very striking; further, at: XIV. 14 − ομοιος 130 and *aeth* alone; XVI. 7 − ο θεος 43, 130 and *aeth* alone; XXII. 7 + και *ante* μακαριος 30, 130 and *aeth* alone, besides conjunction of *aeth* and *syr* S, as at VI. 6 the special order: και τον οινον και το ελαιον by (36) 130 *aeth lat*, *syr* S only; XIII. 2 − στομα *sec.* 38, 59, 69, 114, 130 *syr* S *aeth arm*; XIV. 14 − και ειδον ℵ 129 *syr* S (*aeth*); and the substitution of ομως for ομοιως at II. 15 *fin*, by joining ὅμως to μετανόησον verse 16, corresponds exactly to *aeth*: "Et nunc resipisce sinminus . . ."



Apoc. 130. (Reduced)

These changes, are, some of them, probably basic; many others are the product of a later age, and represent later undesirable reflex action on the Greek.

All, however, with exceedingly few exceptions, make perfectly good sense. Thus, the omission at IX. 9 of *των πτερυγων* (quite alone, so far) makes sense enough: "And their sound was as the sound of many-horsed war-chariots rushing to battle."

We do not get a line on the original sources of corruption until we reach chapter VII., verse 1, where the scribe gives us *ισραηλ pleno* (he writes nearly everything in full, especially *ουρανου*, as against other scribes) instead of *ινα*. This at last gives it away. The scribe must have misread INA as $\overline{\text{IH}}\Lambda$, which shows that his copy was faint and old, the H being taken for N, made like H, the bar not being visible in the A, which was read as Λ.

In X. 10 we find $\aleph^a$ (and 200) dating the last revision of our MS., which reads: *καὶ ὅτε ἔφαγον αὐτὸ ἐγεμίσθη ἡ κοιλία μου πικρίας* (instead of *ἐπικράνθη*, without *πικρίας*). Now while $\aleph^*$ reads *ἐγεμίσθη* with us, it was $\aleph^a$ who added *πικρίας*. $\aleph^*$ and *Prim* agree together (alone) to read "Repletus est venter meus," without *amaritudine*, whereas the reading of our MS. is that of the group $\aleph_a$ *f gig Beatus*.

This MS. puts a quietus on many readings attested by $\aleph^*$B and a comparatively large group of cursives, to the exclusion of CAP and another large groups of cursives.

The intense sympathy of our MS. with the base of $\aleph^*$ causes us to believe the testimony of 130 rather than that of $\aleph^*$B when such readings are not reproduced by 130.

The fact remains that numerous hitherto unique readings in *syr*^{s} S and *boh* and *sah* are being picked up by me in each important Greek document which I examine.

Of course many unique readings remain still in *syr*^{s} S unaccounted for, and unaccounted for by the exigencies of any translation from the Greek.

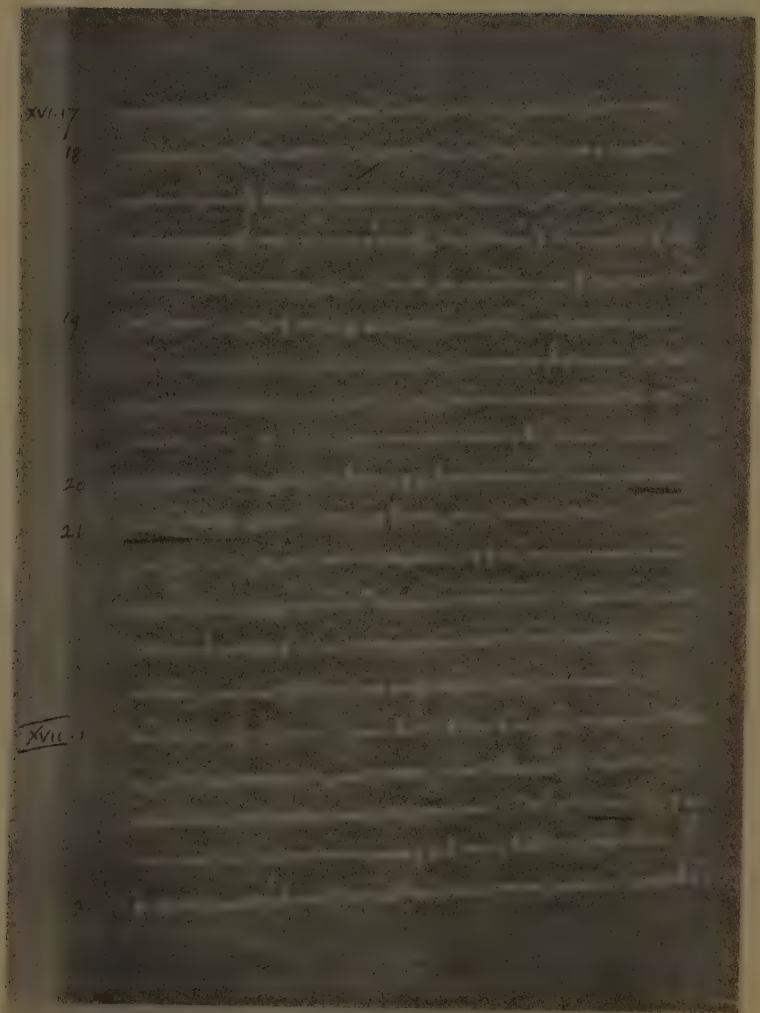
As we reduce these, it may become advisable to list some of them, with a view to their bearing upon the general problem of an original Syro-Greek recension, from which possibly sprang all the rest of the syriacising Greek MSS.

In this latest MS. under examination, No. 130, observe that it is the first one to leave out ἑβραϊστι (as to the name *Abaddon*) in IX. 11. This is one opportunity out of two[1] in the Apocalypse for it to act as *Evan* 28 or 157 did in leaving out "which being interpreted is" after local Aramaic expressions in the Gospels, and Apoc. 130 promptly avails of it, thus explaining some of its sympathy with *syr* S, if deriving from a Græco-Syriac MS., as seems quite possible. Thus, at the other place, XVI. 16, please to notice that another strange thing happens. Our MS. suppresses τον καλουμενον εβραιστι αρ μαγεδων altogether after τον τοπον, and *substitutes* τῶν ὠδῶν. Swete gives this reading without comment. It certainly is a very extraordinary reading, and a still more extraordinary *substitution*. The commentaries are silent about any such thing, and τῶν ὠδίνων would seem to be more to the point (*cf.* Matt. XXIV. 8, Mark XIII. 8, Acts II. 24); yet a slight clue offers, and the connection is not so far to seek, for some of the commentators comment immediately after regarding what they have to say on XVI. 14 *seq.* by a schole beginning "Ἡ ἀγγελίκὴ φωνὴ οὐρανόθεν φησι 'γέγονε' . . ." So this place of ἀρ Μαγεδών *was* "the place of songs, or of minstrels," in a sense of "the song of the Heavenly Voice." The voice saying γεγονε or γεγονα is followed by an awful tumult: "ἀστραπαι και βρονται και φωναι και σεισμος μεγας οιος ουκ εγενετο αφ' ου εγενοντο οι ανθρωποι επι της γης τηλικουτος σεισμος ουτω μεγας" and τῶν ὠδῶν remains a most curious expression, yet not as wholly illogical as at first sight appears. (See accompanying photograph of XVI. 11/12-17).

Apoc. 130 does not generally run to such extremes. Only in two other places, once at IX. 20 he qualifies the idols as τα κωφα, and again at XVI. 20 he substitutes πας ανηρ for πασα νησος. (See accompanying photograph of XVI. 17-XVII. 2).

He is, however, such a terrible eclectic that it is hard to pin the problem down within threshing distance. Thus, at VI. 15 we read ὀπὰσ for πέτρας, 130 being the first Greek MS. to make any change here. Swete quotes οπας for *bohairic*, but erroneously οπης for

[1] At XVI. 16, that other most valuable and important MS., Apoc. 56, is the only one to omit ἑβραϊστι there, with Apoc. 106.



APP. 130 (REDUCED)

Apoc. 130. Our MS. reads distinctly ὀπὰσ.[1] As to *boh*, it has: ⲛⲓⲭⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ really "the *holes* of the *rocks*" (as most *arm* MSS.) not using the word for "mountains" employed above. The expression "πετρας των ορεων" has always seemed a rough expression, although no Greeks so far examined have turned it. Translators must have had difficulty, yet the Latins, including *Prim*, *Anon*, and *Auct de Prom*, who quote, render literally: "in petris montium," only *Auct l. ad Novat.* saying: "in cavernis montium." *Aeth* turns εις τα σπηλαια και εις τας πετρας των ορεων into: "in montibus et in recessibus."

The word ⲛⲓⲭⲟⲗ[2] in coptic, corresponding to οπας, seen by our scribe's forerunner, may, indeed, have suggested the Greek synonym for οργης in the *succeeding* verse, where he writes: τῆς χολῆς for τῆς ὀργῆς, our English word "choler").

This is the first occurrence of the word in the Apoc., and the scribe does not use it again in XI. 18, XIV. 10, XVI. 19, XIX. 15, showing that some special cause operated in VI. 16 as to χολῆς there. [Swete misquotes: τῆς σχολῆς].

Now when you expect a strange reading in 130, you do not meet one, and the text flows smoothly on, to the very *order* sometimes of the textus receptus, opposed by the "middle Greeks," those without special traditions. The stranger readings of our MS. occur generally in most unexpected places.

It is a fact, and a very strange fact, that all these exceptional cursives—disagreeing in so large degree, as well as agreeing among themselves—have a perfectly easy and seemingly unartificial flow of text. This proves that the type of text which they represent was not elaborated in any tenth or eleventh-century scriptorium, but is the product of a much earlier age. This much we can establish with certainty.[3]

But how comes it that these MSS., while individually reproducing

[1] οπη is used in Heb. XI. 38 and James III. 11.

[2] ⲛⲓⲭⲟⲗ is also the word used in Hebr. XI. 38.

[3] Thus we have *in the same monastery* at Meteora *three* very different types of text in the MSS. 200, 201, 202 all executed between A.D. 950 and 1075. The same of course applies to the great variety of texts on Mount Athos.

part of the traditions and idiosyncracies of particular early authorities, yet fail to agree among themselves to reproduce *more*, and seem to be so eclectic? It must be for the reason that a variety of recensions —all old—were current in different parts of the then limited Christian world, with no opportunity of comparing them.

One thing is beyond cavil. In a certain very ancient exemplar, *perhaps underlying them all*, there were certain faint or illegible places, for we notice that in all cursives with ancient collateral lines converging back to primal days, the *same* difficulties occur *in the self-same places*, many of which had already bothered the ancestor of ℵ.

But, beyond this, we cannot yet understand when, how, and why the lines went apart. Fortunately, the mediæval MSS. became, or remained, standardized along certain lines, and no great changes have been wrought in the text in more modern times; by that I mean between A.D. 850 and 1200.

The changes are all very ancient.

The Polyglot Character of them All.

Now comes a feature, most difficult to deal with. Of reflex polyglot action there is plenty. This also dates from very early days, but undoubtedly increased during the copying from A.D. 350 to 850. It also occurred immediately after the very first translations were made, and changes re-impressed themselves upon the Greek from the mere sight of a concurrent version and this in quite the earliest days. This is to be observed as to Syriac, Latin, and Coptic reaction all through our existing Greek MSS. of A.D. 850 to 1200, besides those copied in 375 to 500. But how to differentiate between the earliest and the later ones is the problem. The relative importance of certain cursive testimony, now rendered available, will, I am sure, contribute to an understanding and elucidation of this baffling problem.

Partial examination heretofore has led nowhere. What I have done for the Apocalypse can be done for the other books by anyone who is accurate, painstaking, and patient. The record, as we have it preserved, is now spread before us. Let us digest it intelligently.

The collection of this material to me has been most instructive. Where Soden failed—for failed he has—was in the attempt to collect material through others, and digest it for himself without the collator's

illuminating experiences. The actual collator must also be the one to present the full table of results. He alone can assess at their true value the testimonies of his various scribes. He alone, who has lived with them in the past in their old Scriptoria, can assess at their just value the relative positions to be established for individual members of large groups, and decide which shall govern the group.

Our MS. has the short heading :

ἰωάννου ἀποκαλυψις

but the *sub*scription is :

ἀποκάλυψις ἰωαννου

which agrees with the *in*scriptions of ℵ and C.

Professor Lake, during a visit to Athos, was attracted to this MS., and with good reason ; and he provided Dr. Swete with photographs of the MS. or readings of its text, which were used in the textual footnotes to the edition of 1911 of his book on the Apocalypse, under the same number by which we designate it, viz. Apoc. 130.

The date attributed by Gregory of XI. seems full high at first sight, but is probably correct. There is very little in the way of abbreviation, no numerals, no iota post, plenty of ν ἐφελκ, and ιδου is constant. Accents are wonderfully correct. The scribe writes a nice, easy, flowing hand, but not that of one of the schoolmen or professional penmen of the period.

Dates, however, mean but little in a matter of this kind, except as to the probable accuracy of the copying men in the Scriptoria. Thus, between 950 and 1175, the ratio of accuracy among scribes is far higher than before or later. It reached its highest point concurrently with what Dr. Cram would call the "Gothic" period, thus substantiating many of his contentions.

The text starts off with an innovation among Greek MSS. at I. 1 by omitting τω δουλω αυτου and this prepares us for the strange but highly interesting recension which follows.

Towards the close it has three readings (XXI. 5, 6, 8) close together, agreeing alone with 65, a manuscript which is wanting from chap. I.-XVI., and this shows what a loss this lacuna is in No. 65.

Apoc. 130 is the first one of our cursives to explain the reading of ℵ, who writes in XII. 13 εδωκεν for εδιωξε. Apoc. 130 says

εδιωκε, which I have already reported as the Oecumenian reading (both text and commentary) in the Messina MS. of our No. 146, to follow. This clearly explains the text which lay *behind* ℵ, whose reading can be meant for nothing else but the imperfect tense ἐδίωκεν, and have nothing to do with δίδωμι.

Dr. Swete does not seem to see the point, as he quotes 130, but does not mention ℵ.

There is no getting away from the compelling interest of this MS., and Dr. Swete has overlooked a very large number of important key-readings, even when quoting other MSS. or versions for them.

Thus, although he reports the new reading in II. 27 of καὶ ποιμαίνειν for the usual καὶ ποιμανεῖ or καὶ ποιμαίνει, he misses the connection with *Syr* S, as he reports Gwynn's translation for ἵνα ποιμανεῖ. It is true that Gwynn placed this in his text, but his footnote anticipated our reading in 130 by saying that he ought rather to read ποιμαίνειν for the Syriac. So Swete fails to connect Apoc. 130 and *Syr* S here. (200 reads ποιμανῶ exceptionally.)

Now this particular connection would be slight enough, and perhaps negligible, if there were not *other* sympathy with *Syr* S, but of this there is plenty. Notice then, and very carefully—(for Dr. Swete has not reported it at all)—that Apoc. 130 in the immediate vicinity of the previous passage cited, viz. at II. 23 fin. *in its text* has—

\+ καὶ παιδεύσω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν.

This reading is found in the margin of *Syr* S, and is translated into Greek by Dr. Gwynn, *word for word* with the Greek reading of Apoc. 130.

Yet, curiously enough, we find no trace in Apoc. 130 of the strange reading which occurs at IV. 8 in the *text* of *Syr* S of : ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνύχων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπάνω for ἀνὰ before πτέρυγας ἕξ, this "claws" clause being duly reported by Swete, and which is about the equivalent of the coptic text. Of course, our MS. elsewhere is close to coptic, and in this very place, while avoiding all about the "claws," has coptic *order* (in those coptic MSS. which have it) of ἕξ πτέρυγας against all Greeks but 14-92.

Now all this and more occurs in the smoothest possible manner in Apoc. 130, without tremor in the scribe's pen, and in the midst of considerable spells of conventional text. Explain it if you can.

Whatever we may think of the scribe, his text (the lines double-spaced, which is quite unusual and somewhat extravagant as regards the vellum) flows steadily along, and the stranger readings show no sign whatever of manipulation by him, but owe their origin exclusively to the uncommon exemplar used. And this again, we may fairly judge by inference, contained those rare lections in a straightforward fashion; otherwise, if there had been heavy corrections in that MS., the present copy would show some sign of hesitation in those places, which it does not do.

Therefore, the origin of the various readings goes back at least two generations of manuscripts and possibly more.

Swete has omitted to notice or to record a large number of variants, which must be placed before the student ere he can form any judgment as to the value of the text as a whole.

Indeed, this is most difficult to assess, because, while our MS. will be in accord alone with a limited but authoritative group like ℵ CAP 56 *copt Syr* S alone, and that on many occasions, it goes apart and often apparently "wild" on so many other occasions, that to consider it a balancing factor in the former series gives it undue importance in the latter; and if we accord it no importance in the latter, it does away with its value as a supporter of the oldest MSS. and versions.

At any rate, we may rest assured, first, that there are effective reasons for the "wild" readings, which we cannot at present understand, as these occur in the midst of the strictest agreement with a conventional text, and, secondly, that all these variations trace to quite ancient sources, and have no relation to mediæval ecclesiastical bias.

Thus, in the very first chapter we read at :—

i. 9. [Neglected by Swete.] + εν *ante* υπομονη with *Dionys* alone (59, quite a sympathetic MS. is the only other to read εν τη.)

ii. 15. ὅμως (for ομοιως or ο μισω) being an ancient form of ομοιως not given by ℵ C or A, but strictly it should be ὁμῶς unless the fine distinction of ὅμως is intentional, meaning "notwithstanding" instead of "likewise," but in the earliest uncials there would be no accent to differentiate the word. But the scribe of Apoc. 130 means ὅμως, for he joins ὅμως to μετανόησον verse 16. "Nevertheless remember" exactly as *aeth.*

[ομως occurs elsewhere in the N.T. at John XII. 42, Gal. III. 15 and I Cor. XIV. 7. Note that is a Johannine word, and manuscripts seem to concur at John xii. 42

to read *ομως* (whether *ὅμως* or *ὁμῶς*) and not *ομοιως*. In Codex B it is accented *ὅμως*, in Codex ℵ there is no accent. Dr. Swete does not give the accent for 130.]

But at:

iii. 16. *χλιερὸσ* for *χλιαρος* with ℵ* alone (the Ionic form).

vi. 4. – *αλλος* alone with *syr* S *copt* and *Anon.*

vii. 4. – *εσφραγισμενοι* with 18, 146 and *syr* S.

viii. 10. – *και επεσεν sec.* with *h* and *Prim* [*non sah boh arm aeth syr*]. Neglected by Swete, who quotes *Prim.*

ix. 3. – *εξουσιαν ante οι σκορπιοι* with 40, 121 *syr* S. *Cf. h* eam *pro* potestatem. *Cf. arm.* Our MS. has many of these avoidances of redundancy. Either revision or a return to the original purer draft. Neglected by Swete.

xi. 2. *ἐκεῖ βάλε* (*pro εκβαλε*). This is new. *Cf.* ℵ* *και εκβαλε.* Again due probably to a faint exemplar. (*Obs. Prim* – *εκβαλε εξω.*)

xiii. 8. *οὗ οὐ γέγραπται pro ὧν οὐ γεγρ.* This with C 19, 146 and *Iren* only. As A has *ουαι* for *ων ου*, and ℵ leaves out *ου*, the original was again not clear; the double *ου* coming together in uncial writing is confusing, and 130 maintains the right reading, keeping *το ονομα* following. Swete's text gives *οὗ οὐ* without giving C 130 credit for this in his notes.

xiv. 13. *χῶ pro κυριω* with CP 113 only.

xv. 4. – *κυριε* with 14-92, 18, 121 *arm aeth Cypr Prim.*

xvi. 19. – *το ante ποτηριον* with ℵ 39, 95, 127, 146, 154 only [*non copt*]. *Negl.* Swete.

xvii. 15. *ταυτα pro τα υδατα* with ℵ 200 (*contra Cypr*). Again possibly due to the faint common original. (Compare the reverse in *syr* S at XI. 6 *τα υδατα pro αυτα.*)

17. *την καρδιαν pro τας καρδιας* with *Hippolytus* only. This surely takes our text into high antiquity, but Swete overlooks it.

xviii. 3. – *του θυμου* alone with 113 *syr* S and *Prim.* (*Cf.* AC – *του οινου*; *cf. aeth* veneno *pro* vino irae).

4. *βλαβητε a prima manu ex emend.* The scribe inserts the *β*. With E 67-120 and *Anon* (laedamini).

13. *ιππους pro ιππων* with 56, 95, 127, 200 (again that strong old cursive combination) and (*syr*).

xxi. 1. – *πρωτη* with 13, 29, 65 *boh arm Iren Prim Aug* [*non Tert vid*].

2. + *και ante κεκοσμημενην* with 100 only and *arm Anon Auct*^{prom} (*Iren*^{int} "ut").

xxi. 6. εκ του υδατος της πηγης της ζωης δωρεαν alone with 65, reversing the order of υδατος and πηγης, and giving us the prettiest phrase: "I give to him who is athirst water from *the spring of life*," bringing this together. (Note that A *omits* της πηγης.)

xxii. 11. The form και ο ρυπαρος ρυπανθητω ετι agrees alone with ℵ 18 and 32. [Neglected as to 130 by Swete, who quotes the others.]

2.

The nature of other innovations is clear to me. They bear the imprint once more of "bilingual" tradition; or rather, not so much of tradition, as of positive *error oculi* and *error mentis* in copying from or referring to bilingual bicolumnar MSS. in early times.

Let us list some of them :—

i. 16 *init.* – και. No Greeks but with *sah* and *boh*.

ii. 10. ο διαβολος αφ' υμων ενα (*pro* βαλειν εξ υμων ο διαβολος) ἕνα agrees with *arm*^{t}. Observe change of preposition. [Swete records ἀφ for ἐξ but neglects ενα and – βαλειν].

14. ειδωλοθυτον alone. *Cf.* coptic termination.

23. καρδιας και νεφρους. This order [*negl.* Swete] is confirmed by 51-90, 113, 114, 127, 200 and *arm boh* [*non sah*] *Vict Tun.*

iii. 2. στῆσον *sic* (*pro* στηριξον *vel* στηρισον *vel* τηρησον). Alone. *Cf. arm; cf. Prim* + "et stabilis." [*Negl.* Swete.]

v. 10. βασιλειαν *pro* βασιλεις with (ℵ) A 56, 143, 200 only of Greeks, but so *copt latt* and *arm* (one MS.). *Syr* S says "βασιλειαν και ιερεις και βασιλεις" and ℵ "βασιλειαν και ιερατειαν." *Tert* and *Cypr* also use *regnum*.

vi. 6. Order: και τον οινον και το ελαιον *syr* S *aeth latt* [*non gig*] and only Greek (36). [*Negl.* Swete *omnino*.]

12. – ως *ante* αιμα. Alone with *sah boh arm gig*. [Swete neglects, quoting *arm*.]

13. επι *pro* εις with ℵ 22, 23, 47, 55**, 56, 81, 102, 200 *copt syr* S *arm* uno. [*Negl.* Swete, quoting ℵ 47 *syr* S.]

15. οπας *pro* πετρας. New with *boh* and *arm* plur. [*Cf.* Hebr. XI. 38.]

vii. 1 *init.* – και. Thus CA 127, 146 *latt sah*.

12. Order: η δοξα και η ευλογια. Alone with *syr* S.

viii. 8. Order: και το τριτον της θαλασσης εγενετο αιμα with *copt* only. [*Negl.* Swete.]

ix. 12 *init.* + ιδου with *sah* and *arm* absolutely alone. [*Negl.* Swete.]

x. 4. + αὐτὰ *post* γραφειν with *copt arm* aliq. [*Negl.* Swete.]

Ibid. + εβδομου *ante* ουρανου. New thus, but *syr* S = ουρανου του εβδομου.

x. 8. το βιβλιον το (– ηνεωγμενον). βιβλιον by CA 14-92, 127, but ηνεωγμενον omitted only by *syr* S and 130. [Neglected entirely by Swete, who merely quotes AC 6, 14 for βιβλιον, and 6 is wrong.] Curiously enough 130 is the only MS. to use βιβλιον *consistently* throughout this section, and *yet* indulges in the "seventh Heaven."

xi. 6. και εχουσιν εξουσιαν. New Greek order with versions only. [*Negl.* Swete.]

19. – αστραπαι και with one *arm* MS.

xii. 2. – και *sec. ante* βασανιζομενη. New (but quite natural), alone with *boh*, which suppresses all copulas here.

9. – και *post* διαβολος with ℵ *boh* only [*contra sah*]. Swete neglects, quoting ℵ and *boh*.

11. τας ψυχας with 23 and the Egyptian *fam* 34 only as well as *boh latt* aliq *arm* uno *Prim.* [*Negl.* Swete, quoting 35, 87 *arm*.]

14. – του *ante* αετου with ℵ only and *boh* and *arm?* [*Negl.* Swete, quoting ℵ *arm*.]

Ibid. – και *sec. ante* καιρους with 41, 42, 53, 69, 75, 77, 81, 90, 122 *syr* S. [*Negl.* Swete.]

xiii. 2. – στομα *sec* with 38, 59, 69, 114 *syr* S *aeth arm* aliq.

5. + και *ante* δυο with A 16, 39, 69, 95, 127 *gig syr Iren.* [*Negl.* Swete, quoting others.]

6. – τους. So 35 and *gig* only (τὸ *aeth*).

xiv. 13. + μεγαλην. Alone with *copt.*

14. – και ειδον with ℵ 129 *syr* S (*aeth*).

17. εκ του ουρανου *pro* εκ του ναου του εν τω ουρανω. Alone with *copt.* [*Negl.* Swete.]

20. δισχιλιων εξακοσιων *pro* χιλιων εξακοσιων. Alone, yet not alone, for this can only trace to a Latin column in a bilingual, which agreed with the reading of *gigas* (and therefore is most ancient), for while the other Latins, including even *Anon*, have "per stadia," and *h* "per istadio," *gigas* has "a stadiis mille quingentis," this STADIISMILLE being confused with Bis Mille and transferred to Greek as ΔΙCΧΙΛΙCΩΝ.

For further proof of such things compare XVIII. 18 ομοιος (alone) for ομοια = *similis* the same for masculine or feminine gender. Or comp. χιλιοις ετεσι at XX. 4 *fin* alone with *mille annis.* of the Latins, against the χιλια ετη of all Greeks.

xv. 2. *κιθαραν pro κιθαρας.* Alone with *aeth* and *arm* uno.
3. – *την ωδην sec.* So *arm* unus, and *boh* inverting the clause.
xvi. 6. *εδωκεν pro εδωκας* [*πιειν*]. Alone with two *arm* MSS.
xvii. 1. *Δευρο και δειξω.* So *arm.* No others.
xviii. 9. + *παντες ante οι βασιλεις.* New with *boh* only.
xix. 20. Order: *και εβληθησαν οι δυο ζωντες* [*εις*]. New with *copt* and *aeth* only. [*Male Swete, negl. ord.*)

This is a good example of polyglot handling. The usual text is: *ζωντες εβληθησαν οι δυο εις την λιμνην.* *Syr* S begins *και* (with us) and eliminates *ζωντες.* It appears confused. The redactor of our recension refers to *copt* and finds *ζωντες* later, so adopts that order. Later on he opposes *copt.*

xx. 12. – *της ante ζωης.* With 74 and *copt*, and of course *lat.* Comp. other such omissions alone XI. 19 – *της*, XII. 10 – *ἡ.*

3.

Others more difficult to trace or to assess are :—

vi. 11. *αναπαυσασθε pro ινα αναπαυσωνται.* Alone with 146 *com.* and *arm* uno.
vii. 5. *δαν pro Γαδ* With 9, 13, 16, 23 (39, 69), 75 and *arm.*
viii. 2. *θρονου pro θεου* „ 39, 69, 102 *arm* uno.
6. [*εχοντες absque οἱ*] „ few. [Swete neglects to notice for 130 although quoting ℵ 36 *arm.*]
10. – *και επεσεν sec.* „ *h* and *Prim* only [*non sah boh arm aeth*]. [*Negl.* Swete, quoting *Prim* but not *h.*]
12. Order: *το τεταρτον* (*sic*) *της σεληνης και το τριτον του ηλιου.* This is a new order, and of course *τεταρτον* (referring to the "quarters" of the moon) is new. Observe *h*, which agreed just above, *leaves out και το τριτον της σεληνης.* Hence our new order, as the common parentage is the same. [Swete quotes *τεταρτον* all right, but not the new order, so that his quotation applies *τεταρτον* to the sun!]
ix. 13. – *φωνην μιαν.* This is new. But *φωνην* is omitted by *gig Prim Cypr arm* aliq, *μιαν* by 38, and the clause by ℵ*!
17. – *εν τη ορασει.* New, but *syr* S omits more. [*Negl.* Swete.]
x. 4. + *και ante εμελλον.* With 41, 102 and *aeth.* [*Negl.* Swete.]
xi. 14. + *και ante απηλθεν.* New. The versions have *και after απηλθεν*, but against the Greek. [*Negl.* Swete.]
19. – *αστραπαι και.* New with one *arm* MS. [*Negl.* Swete.]
xii. 6. *οκτακοσιας* (*pro διακοσιας*). So only 14-92 with *ᾱͅω̄ξ.*

xii. 17. πολεμον ποιησαι. With ℵ and *Anon* only. [*Negl.* Swete.]

Ibid. – των λοιπων. Alone with *arm* and *boh*^{B}. Notice another faint place in the original, for ℵ says "επι λοιπων" and *Hipp* "αγιων."

xiii. 1. επι ταις κεφαλαις. Alone with *gig* ["in capitibus," the rest have "super capita" but 114 επι των κεφαλων].

xiv. 3. – τεσσαρες. With C alone. [*Negl.* Swete.]

4.

Dr. Swete's actual errors in reporting (besides those touched on above) are at :—

iii. 16. Where he quotes – ουτως. The MS. omits οτι not ουτως.

iv. 1. MS. has λεγουσα μετ εμου for λαλουσης μετ εμου λεγουσα.

v. 2. MS. has και ιδον αγγελον (– ισχυρον) κηρυσσοντα ισχυρα φωνη (– μεγαλη). Swete quotes with ℵ for κηρυσσοντα ισχυρον.

v. 13. MS. has λεγοντος. He quotes λεγοντας.

vi. 11. Neglecting the construction, he misquotes αποκτεννεσθαι for the manuscript's αποκτεννεσθε. The MS. has a new reading here, omitting ὡς. He should have noticed ἀποκτεννεσθε, as he quotes in the same verse αναπαυσασθε for ινα αναπαυσωνται.

15. The MS. is clear for ὀπὰσ. He quotes οπης.

vii. 1. *Male* Swete. + ισραηλ *ante* ινα. The codex *substitutes* ισραηλ for ινα.

5. *Male* Swete ρουβειν. MS. has ῥουβὴμ.

x. 5. ἴδεσ *pro* εἶδον. This is new. Swete brackets 130 as for ιδον!

7. MS. has [ως ευηγγελισε] τους εαυτου δουλους τους προφητας. Swete quotes as if MS. read ὁ.

xii. 10. και η σωτηρια. ("*De novo in versu*" *pro* και η βασιλεια). Swete is not clear.

xiii. 15. MS. has προσκυνησωσιν. Swete errs, quoting προσκυνησουσιν with ℵ, *etc.*

xvi. 14. MS. has εκπορευεται (– ά) with ℵ^{a} 88 alone. Swete notes – ά, but apparently makes the MS. read εκπορευονται.

xix. 18. *Male* Swete των παντων. MS. has [παντων].

xxii. 6. Swete quotes 130 *alone* for the omission of δειξαι τοις δουλοις αυτου, but a good many others omit also.

17. MS. has λέγουσαι. *Male* Swete λεγουσα.

5.

His *omissions* are manifold, not so much, I think, from design as from carelessness, as he reports similar variations in other places. He neglects altogether some 215 readings, of which not less than half are of very considerable importance. For instance, besides some already mentioned, the following variations are not recorded at all :—

i. 3. *τον λογον pro τους λογους*, although he quotes ℵQ 100 *aeth.*
6. *και ποιησαντι ημιν* (*pro και εποιησεν ημας*), although he quotes others.
ii. 1. *εκκλησιων pro χρυσων.* (New.)
3. *και υπομονην* + *ἣν* (*ante εχεις*). (New.)
3/4. *καὶ οὐκ ἐκόπασασ sic* + *δια το ονομα μου* (*pro αλλ εχω κατα σου*). New.
24. *οἳ pro ὅσοι.* So ℵ[a] and 130, 200 alone.
25. *οὗ ἂν ἥξω* (– *αχρις*). (New.)
26. *κρατων pro τηρων.* With 13-55* only.
28. – *τον ante αστερα.* So 200.
iii. 7. – *του ante δαδ*; although supporting his text with CA 38 *syr* S.
9. *τους λεγοντας pro των λεγοντων.*
10. *ηγαπησας pro ετηρησας.*
Ibid. *εκ pro επι prim.*
Ibid. – *ολης et* + *κατώικουν sic ante πειράσαι.*
Ibid. *τους ληστας pro τους κατοικουντας.*
None of these recorded.
11. *ὅσα pro ὃ.* (New.)
Ibid. fin. – *σου.* (New.)
12. *αὐτῶ pro αυτον prim* with ℵ* 47, 61, 92 *txt*, 100*. Neglected although ℵ is cited.
Ibid. – *το ονομα του θεου μου και.* 130 with B only. Swete quotes B (his Q) but not 130.
17. *ουδε pro ουδενος.* Neglected, while others are cited.
iv. 6. – *και κυκλω του θρονου.* Neglected, while others are cited.
7. + *ως ante αετω.* (New.)
9. *τω θρονω.* Neglected, quoting ℵA.
v. 4. *Om. vers.* Neglected, quoting A 98.
6. – *και οφθαλμους επτα.* With 1, 44, 61, 121.
9. *οτι ἠγίασασ* (*sic*) *τω θεω* (– *εσφαγης και*). (New.)
13. – *και υποκατω της γης.* Neglected, quoting others.
vi. 5. *ερχου λεγοντος sic* (– *και βλεπε*). (New order.)
8 *εν λιμω και εν ρομφαια και εν θανατω.* (New order.)
9. *την σφραγιδα την πεμπτην.* Neglected, quoting others.

vi. 11. – *και οι συνδουλοι αυτων.* Alone with 36.

Ibid. *οι ελεγον pro οι μελλοντες.* (New.)

[This whole verse is curiously reconstructed. Instead of: *και εδοθησαν εκαστοις στολαι λευκαι και ερρεθη αυτοις ινα αναπαυσωνται ετι χρονον μικρον εως ου πληρωσονται και οι συνδουλοι αυτων και οι αδελφων αυτων οι μελλοντες αποκτεινεσθαι ως και αυτοι* of the *textus receptus*, we are treated to the following (which is useless for anyone to report only partially): "*καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς στολὴ λευκή· καὶ ἐρρήθη αὐτοῖς· ἀναπαύσασθε χρόνον μικρὸν ἕως πληρώσωσιν καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν οἳ ἔλεγον ἀποκτέννεσθε καὶ αὐτοί·*". Notice the punctuation before *ἀναπαύσασθε*, and the substitution of *οἳ ἔλεγον* for *οἱ μέλλοντες* before *ἀποκτέννεσθε* with the suppression of *ὡς* before *καὶ αὐτοί·*.]

vi. 12. – *ως ante αιμα.* New among Greeks, but with *sah boh gig arm.* Neglected, although *arm* quoted.

13. – *του ουρανου.* New among Greeks with 113 only, but with *Novat Anon Auct* prom.

vii. 1. + *και ante κρατουντας* with *syr* S and over a dozen cursives. Swete neglects, quoting others. [For his 97 doubtless read 79.]

Ibid. *μηποτε pro μητε bis.* (New.)

2. – *αυτοις.* Neglected, although others quoted.

ix. 3 *init.* – *και.* (New.)

4. *ἀλλὰ pro ει μη.* New with *aeth.*

11. – *εβραιστι.* New. Surely Swete should have noted this.

12 *init.* + *ιδου.* New with *sah* and *arm* alone.

14. *τῶ pro ος ειχε.* New thus. Swete brackets 130 with others for *τω εχοντι*, which is not accurate.

17. – *εν τω ορασει.* New thus, but *syr* S omits more.

20. – *τα* before *αργυρα, χαλκα, λιθινα,* and *ξυλινα.* New thus as a whole among Greeks with 200.

Ibid. + *α ante ουτε sec. ante βλεπειν.* New. [Swete quotes the new "*τα κωφα και χρυσα*," but omits the above in this verse.]

x. 4. + *και ante εμελλον.* With two other of my cursives and *aeth.*

Ibid. + *αυτα post γραφειν.* New with *copt* and *arm* aliq. Swete neglects, although quoting *εβδομου ουρανου* in same verse.

xi. 6. – *εις αιμα.* Completely overlooked by Swete. Now *syr* S leaves out *επι των υδατων*, and 1, 12, *etc.*, omit *αυτα*, so probably a marginal notice to leave out *αυτα* was misapplied by the others, and our omission must be noted.

xi. 11. *εν αυτοις pro επ αυτους.* Neglected, although others quoted.
19. *– της ante διαθηκης.* (New.)
xii. 4. *τικτειν.* Overlooked by Swete, although quoting others.
8. Order: *εν τω ουρανω ετι.* (New, against *sah boh* order).
– ετι ℵ^{c} *aliq.*
Ibid. *– μετ' αυτου.*
17. *πολεμον ποιησαι* with ℵ^{vid} and *Anon.*
xiii. 1. *– και ειδον εκ της θαλασσης,* joining XII. 18 / XIII. 1 with stop after *θηριον αναβαινον. Prim* omits XII. 18, but has XIII. 1 as usual.
3. *εσφραγισμενην pro εσφαγμενην.* Swete neglects this substitution not only for 130 but for other cursives. (So far I record eighteen MSS. for this.)
16. *δωσιν pro δώσῃ.* Neglected, although others quoted.
17. *δυναται.* „ „ eleven others quoted.
18. *+ εστιν post αυτου.* „ „ thirteen „ „
xiv. 3. *– τεσσαρες.* With C alone. Swete quotes neither, although he notices *– και quart.*
6. *– επι της γης.* (New.)
7. *– εν φωνη μεγαλη.* (New.)
11. *τὸ χάρισμα pro τὸ χάραγμα.* New reading (a Pauline and Petrine expression). *Prim* is colourless with "notam." But surely Swete should have noticed this. No MS. or Version agrees, but at XIX. 20 *arm*^{4} has what Coneybeare renders *την χαριν* for *το χαραγμα* there, *and which Swete sees fit to mention at that place.*
13. *λεγουσαν pro λεγουσης.* Neglected, although *φωνην* for *φωνης* and *+ μεγαλην*, both in the accusative, are recorded.
Ibid. *γαρ pro δε* with ℵCAP, *etc.* Swete records twelve others, but neglects 130.
14. MS. reads *καθημενος υιος ανθρωπου* (*– ομοιος*). New thus with *aeth.* Swete reports *– ομοιος* but neglects to notice *υιος* for 130, although quoting 1 for it, and noting *καθημενος* for 130.
18. Order: *εκ του θυσιαστηριου εξηλθεν* with E. Swete neglects this order of E and 130 (with 17, 67-120) although noting *– εξηλθεν* for A, and *– εκ του θυσ.* for *Prim*, so the inverted order is important.
Ibid. *– λεγων πεμψον σου το δρεπανον το οξυ και.* Swete quotes *– λεγων* for 130 alone but not the rest of the omission, which is most misleading as *syr* S also omits *λεγων* (besides 14-92, 16, 72, 100), and *πεμψον σου το δρεπανον το οξυ* is omitted by *arm* and the cursives 12*, 16, 72, 100, and

finally *και tert* by 100 *gig* and *arm*. Thus 100 and 130 agree.

xv. 2. The unique *εχουσαν* (*pro εχοντες*) is neglected, although Swete records *κιθαραν* following (with *aeth* and *arm* uno). Apoc. 130 would apparently apply *εχουσαν* to *θαλασσαν*.

6/7. The MS. omits *εκ του ναου* to *των τεσσαρων ζωων*. Swete says, as to *λινον* or *λιθον* verse 6 "*hiat* 130," but does not indicate what this hiatus amounts to. In reality I suppose the MS. should be quoted as − *εκ του ναου* with many others, as well as for the longer omission, which may be an error, or deliberate, but it adds *ἃς post πληγας* (ver. 6) and before *εδωκε* (ver. 7), completing the sense, which Swete quite overlooks.

xvi. 9. + *την ante εξουσιαν*. Neglected, quoting others.

17. − *του ναου*. This is not properly indicated for 130 or others.

20. *πας ανηρ εφυγεν pro πασα νησος εφυγε*. Swete absolutely passes by this curious substitution, the most extraordinary in the whole MS.! The MS. does not often indulge in such things, but when it does, the business of the critic is to report it, as there is no knowing when collateral agreement may be found in other documents, leading to identification of families, type, and common sources.

xvii. 5. − *ἡ ante μητηρ*. (New. *Cf. copt.*)

15. − *ἃ*. Alone with 98. Not noticed, although *ταυτα* for *τα υδατα* is cited with ℵ alone.

18. *εστι πολις pro εστιν η πολις*. New, but neglected, as is − *ἡ* above before *μητηρ*, but these things all tend to show a polyglot mind, and *must* be recorded; else our labour is vain (*cf.* XII. 10 below).

xviii. 2. − *και φυλακη παντος πνευματος ακαθαρτου*. So six of my cursives. Swete is silent, although referring to *μεμιαμμενου* of 130 in the same verse.

4. − *και sec.* Omitted by 130 as well as by P 1, six other cursives, *syr* S and *boh*. Swete is silent as to all of them.

7 *init.* *οτι pro οσα*. (New.)

Ibid. *αὐτῶ pro αυτῆ*. (New.) (− *αυτη gig*, − *δοτε αυτη syr* S.)

12. [*πορφυρας* with *text rec.*] Swete is silent as to 130, but quotes ℵCP 7, 35, 95 *Hipp.*, evidently overlooking it.

13. + *και αμωμου* not *αμωμον*. New thus. Swete has + *και αμωμον* in his text, but neglects the genitive of 130, although quoting *κινναμωμου* for many others.

Ibid. *θυμιαματος* instead of *θυμιαματα*, following *κινναμωμου* and

αμωμου, with another genitive. Swete neglects, although quoting Q 14, 92 for this, and 94 *vg* for θυμιαματων.

xix. 20 } καμινον for λιμνην. (New in both places.)
xx. 10 }

xx. 6. αλλα λεγονται *pro* αλλ' εσονται. New. Swete quotes ℵ for αλλα without mentioning 130. Carelessness can go no further. Such a new reading (making good sense) calls for mention.

8. – ων *ante* ο αριθμος. New. This, with + αυτων *post* αριθμος with ℵAB *mult.* should be noticed, for the reading of 130 without ὧν appears to be the best of all: "ο αριθμος αυτων ως η αμμος της θαλασσης," instead of ων ο αριθμος αυτων κ.τ.λ.

9. "[εκυκλευσαν] την πολιν και την παρεμβολην των αγιων [και την πολιν την ηγαπημενην]." This reduplication of την πολιν is to be noticed (*cf. syr.* S only; *cf.* B 97-122). Swete passes it over, although referring to Q and 97.

10. + εβληθη *post* θηριον. New. *Cf.* 32 + εβληθησαν *post* ψευδοπροφ.

11. ἐπ' αὐτό· (*pro* ἐπ' αὐτοῦ). This is new. Others (81, 104, 114, 119-123 all notable cursives) read ἐπ' αὐτῷ, but 130 is best, and should be quoted, because elsewhere most MSS. read επ αυτον and not the dative after καθημενος. Swete quotes 33 and 35 for επ αυτω (33 is wanting here), and is silent as to 130.

12. ιδον *pro* ειδον. Notwithstanding above neglect, Swete has been careful to record 130 for ἰδον, but overlooks it here and in four or five other places.

xxi. 10. – και *post* μεγα. 130 reads: "επ ορος μεγα υψηλον." Swete neglects this altogether, although a dozen cursives read thus, and *Cypr* omits και υψηλον, which is also not mentioned.

13. The MS. reads και απο του νοτου which is a new reading. Swete will not notice it.

16. Nor is δεκαδυο mentioned for δωδεκα, although much smaller things are often recorded.

19. χαλκιδων is also neglected, although he cites Q 1, 29, 98 for it.

21. – ανα. New (with one of my cursives 107*).

xxii. 7. + και *ante* μακαριος. So 30 and *aeth* besides 130. Swete is silent.

8. MS. reads ακουων (– ὁ) και βλεπων ταυτα. So four other of my cursives.

Ibid. δεικνυντος. Swete quotes others, but not 130.

Some of the above omissions bear on our problems, as he has omitted to notice much basic agreement or collateral sympathy with the elder authorities.

Sporadic agreement with such MSS. as 36, 56, or 114, points to critical emendation (always at a remote date) with possible survival of some genuine "lost" readings, even among our unique series.

We can connect 130 with most of our important MSS., uncial and cursive, but with no one sufficiently to establish a firm "class" or "group" relationship in the way we can do it for others. It must, therefore, take its place singly alongside such MSS. as 18, 36, 40, 47, 95, 114 (143, 146, 200 to follow), which all reproduce separate lines of transmission, converging, it is true, as we remount the centuries, but being bounded by the "blinkers" which envelop their separate and several transmission from remote ages.

The large omissions due to homoioteleuton are doubtless due in whole or in part to similar lacunæ in the parent copy, but *which* are due to the scribe's own infirmity, and which are *not* it remains most difficult to establish, as we have no sister-MS. with which to compare it.

In a general way, there appears rather more sympathy with the two Coptic versions than with Syriac or Latin.

It is refreshing to find such a MS. still available among the unequal treasures of Mt. Athos, and as I have been unable, so far, to complete the examination of quite a score of recently catalogued MSS. in the different monasteries of the Promontory, more helpful material may possibly be brought to light after my day.

I flatter myself, however, that the picture which I have painted in my table of grouped readings will make the path of the future investigator more plain, and enable him more readily to assess at its true value any new evidence which may be forthcoming from the discovery of any other such interesting survivals as the present MS. under review.

6.

Remain the other unique readings not yet tabulated. We ought really to have given a sequent running list of all principal variations, instead of separating them. It would have been fairer to the MS.

However, we will close with the other readings not yet dealt with, which are so far unique, or nearly so.

i. 1.	– τω δουλω αυτου	(So 170.)
9.	– εγενομην τη νησω τη καλ. πατμω δια τον λογον του θεου και δια την μαρτυριαν ιησου χριστου.	
11.	+ μοι *post* λεγουσης	So 111, 146 *h copt arm* aliq [*non Gr.*].
Ibid.	ἃ *pro* ὃ	*Minn* aliq *sah boh syr* S.
12.	και επεστρεψα επι την φωνην (– βλεπειν)	For επι *cf.* some + εκει, but none so far omit βλεπειν. For the source of επι consider a coptic column, ϵ ⲧⲉⲥⲱⲙⲏ *sah*, ϵⲧⲥⲱⲙⲏ *boh*.
13.	ομοιος [υιω ανου] ενδεδυμενος	Alone.
Ibid.	περιεζωσμενος	Alone.
17.	– ως	With 114, 146 only.
Ibid.	την χειρα αυτου *pro* την δεξιαν αυτου χειρα	No other omits δεξιαν.
18.	– αμην	ℵCAP *pauc.*
20.	οὓς *pro* ὧν	ℵCAP *al.* [*om.* Swete].
ii. 1.	τω εν εφεσω εκκλ.	CA 36.
5.	μνημόνευσον (*sic*) οὖν	38, 81, 178, 200.
iii. 3.	μνημόνευσον (*sic*)	Alone.
ii. 5.	– ταχει	ℵCAP 56, 143, 146, 200 *gig copt syr* S.
9.	– τα εργα και	CAP 47, 111, 146, 200 *gig harl copt syr* S.
Ibid.	ειναι ιουδαιους εαυτους	(100.) [*Negl.* Swete.]
10.	εχητε	AP 36, 81, 121.
11.	– του δευτερου	Alone.
13.	– τα εργα σου και	ℵCAP 38, 143, 146, 178, 200 *syr* S *copt latt arm* aliq
14.	– οτι	C 111, 143, 146.
Ibid.	τῶ βαλαὰκ (– εν)	CA *syr.* [*Negl.* Swete.]
17.	– απο [*rel. cum t. r.*]	19 and 111. „ „
18.	εν θυατείρα	14-92 only. „ „
Ibid.	λαμπαδας *pro* φλογα	Alone (no versions).
iii. 2 *init.*	γενοῦ *pro* γίνου.	Alone with 200.
4.	αλλα εχεις ολιγα ονοματα	ℵCA 38-178.
5.	περι βαλείτω	Alone. [*Negl.* Swete.]
8.	+ σοι *post* δεδωκα	87 only.
9.	τους λεγοντας [ϵ. ιουδ. ειναι]	Alone.
16.	ἐμέσειν	Alone. [*Negl.* Swete.]
17.	ἀληθινὸσ *pro* ελεεινος.	Alone.
Ibid.	[και τυφλος και γυμνος]	*Contra copt, contra syr* S.

iii. 18.	*κολούριον*	Alone with the Complutensian edition! [We have still to find the MS. from which it was set up.]
iv. 3.	*σμαράγδω pro σαρδινω*	Alone. (+ *σμαραγδω* B *al.*)
Ibid. fin.	*σμαραγδινων*	So 98 only. (*Cf.* 14 *syr σμαραγδων.*)
4.	*και επι τους εικοσιτεσσαρας θρονους πρ.* (– *ειδον*)	A alone.
Ibid.	– *περιβεβλημενους*	63, 119 *txt* only.
Ibid.	– *ιματιοις*	ℵ only and *arm* uno. (Also 143, 178, 200.)
5.	*του θρονου αυτου · και εισι pro του θρονου αἳ εισι*	*Cf.* 14-92 *syr.*
6.	*ἐμμέσω*	A 114, 200.
8.	*ὃσ ἦν*	Alone.
9/10.	– *των αιωνων* (9 *fin.*) *usque ad και βαλλουσι* (*ver.* 10)	*Saltus, sed om. των αιωνων bis, solus.*
v. 3.	– *ουδε υποκατω της γης*	With ℵ and nearly a dozen cursives.
13.	– *και υποκατω της γης*	With ℵ 12 *al. et copt.*
6.	*ἐμμέσω prim.* [*non sec.*]	A only, but A does it twice. [*Negl.* Swete.]
Ibid.	*απεσταλμενα* (– *τα*)	So ℵ 9, 26, 38, 67.
8.	*ειληφεν pro ἐλαβε*	Alone.
9/10.	– *ημας usque ad τω θεω*	(*Error ex homoiotel.*)
11 *fin.*	– *και χιλιαδες χιλιαδων*	81 only.
14.	– *και προσεκυνησαν ζωντι εις τους αιωνας των αιωνων*	Alone thus, many leaving out the *ζωντι* clause, but none so far the *και προσεκυνησαν.*
vi. 1.	*ως φωνην βροντης λεγοντος*	New thus with *arm.* (*Cf.* A.)
5.	*επ αυτοῦ pro επ αυτω*	Alone.
Ibid. fin.	– *αυτου*	Alone. (*Cf. aeth.*)
6.	*κριθῶν*	ℵCAP and some important cursives.
8.	*επ αυτον pro επανω αυτου*	Alone. (*επ pro επανω* 56, *αυτον* new.)
Ibid.	– *ο ante θανατος*	ℵC and the *Compl.* group.
Ibid.	*επι τεταρτον* (– *το*) *της γης αποκτειναι*	New without *το.*
9.	– *δια sec.*	Alone with A of Greeks and *gig tol Cypr Prim* (*copt*).

vi. 10.	– *ο δεσποτης*	Alone. (Domine *pro ο δεσποτης gig.*)
Ibid.	*κρινεῖσ pro κρίνεις*	So 80, 81 and *boh*^{B}. [*Negl.* Swete.]
Ibid.	*εκδικιεῖσ sic*	New thus. [*Negl.* Swete.]
17.	*αυτων pro αυτου*	With ℵC 18, 38, 111, 146, 178, 200 of Greeks, *syr* S and Σ, and *gig* (ipsorum) *Auct* de prom (illorum).
vii. 1.	*εις pro επι prim*	Alone with *gig* (*υπο* by 29 is the only Greek variation).
Ibid.	*πνευση pro πνει*	With ℵ and certain cursives.
3.	*μὴ δὲ bis pro μητε bis*	With ℵ 16, 39, 81, 102, 114, 121.
5.	*δάν pro Γάδ*	With 9, 13, 16, 23 (39, 69), 75 and *arm.*
8 *fin.*	*εσφραγισμενων*	With 104, 151 only.
13.	– *εκ*	With ℵ 91, 111 only.
viii. 2.	*θρονου pro θεου*	So only 39-69-102 and one *arm* MS.
3.	*εξηλθεν pro ηλθε*	14-92 only.
Ibid.	[*επι το θυσιαστηριον*] *primo loco*	with fourteen cursives, against ℵBF *plur.*
11.	*απο pro εκ*	Alone with 29 (*επι* A). [*Negl.* Swete, quoting A.]
12.	*φανῇ pro φαίνῃ*	With ℵAF and seven cursives.
13.	*αετου* [*πετωμενου*]	Agrees thus with 56.
ix. 2.	+ *καιομενης sic post καπνος secund.*	Observe *καπνου* of 39-69-102. (+ *καιομενης post μεγαλης* 36 *gig syr* S).
4.	*μὴ δὲ sic pro ουδε bis*	178, 200, while 80 has *μηδε prim.*
7.	*ιππων ητοιμασμενων*	Alone. (*Cf.* 67.)
Ibid.	[*ομοιοι*] *χρυσίω*	Alone.
10.	[*και*] *αι εξουσιαι αυτων· αδικησαι κ.τ.λ.*	Alone.
16.	*ως pro δυο*	Alone. (*Cf.* perhaps ωρ (and ωπ) *sah* for "*numerare.*")
19.	*ὁμοίασ* (*ex emend. Inprimo ομοιωσ?*) *pro ομοια*	Alone.
Ibid.	*ὄφεωσ sic*	New. *Cf. arm*^{aliq} in the singular. No others.

ix. 19.	*ταυταις pro αυταις*	Alone.
x. 8 *init.*	*και την φωνην (– ἣν) ηκουσα παλιν του λαλουντος μετ εμου εκ του ουρανου λεγουσαν . . .*	Alone.
9.	*βιβλιον*	ℵ 127, 146 only.
xi. 6.	*αν pro εαν*	C 23, 38, 67-120, 56-108, 106 and these only. (*Cf.* ℵ 16, 36, 104, iii. 19.)
7.	*ἑαυτῶν pro αυτων prim*	Alone. [*Negl.* Swete.]
9.	*αφιωσιν pro αφησουσι*	So 200. (*αφιουσιν* ℵCAP 12.) [*Negl.* Swete.]
10.	[*πεμψουσιν cum t. r.*]	[*Negl.* Swete.]
13.	*ανδρων pro ανθρωπων*	Alone with 200.
16.	[*καθημενοι cum t. r.*]	[*Negl.* Swete.]
xii. 6.	*– εκει post ινα ante* [*τρεφωσιν sic*]	So only 14-92, 59, *h* and *syr* S.
10.	[*εγενετο*] *σωτηρια (– ἡ) και δυναμις (– ἡ)*	New thus (while 67-120, 121 only omit *ἡ prim*).
12 *init.*	*– δια τουτο*	Alone.
14.	*– εις prim ante την ερημον*	Alone. (*Cf. copt* "towards.")
Ibid.	*ινα pro οπου*	Alone [*non copt*].
18.	*ἐστάθη*	So ℵCA *al pauc.*
xiii. 3.	[*Abest εκ cum t.r. et* B *al pauc boh arm*]	[*Negl.* Swete.]
4.	*ὅτι pro ὅς*	with ℵCAP *al.*
5.	*+ ἡ ante εξουσια*	Alone [*non sah boh*].
6.	[*εις*] *βλασφημίας*	With ℵCA 1, 18, 34, 67, 87, 95, 127. (*Cf. latt qui variant inter se.*)
Ibid.	*– τους*	With 35 and *gig.* (*τὸ aeth.*)
8.	*το ονομα + αυτου*	(*+ αυτου* CA 124, 146, 178 *soli.*)
Ibid.	*– τη ante* [*βιβλω*]	So ℵ* 36, 59, 114 (C).
10.	*ει τις εις αιχμαλωσιαν απαγει*	*tantum.*
13.	*μεγαλα σημεια* (*pro σημ. μεγ.*)	With the 34 family only. (*Obs. – μεγαλα copt Prim.*)
Ibid.	[*ινα και πυρ*] *εκ του ουρανου ποιηση εις την γην καταβηναι* [*ενωπιον των ανθρωπων*]	[*Non accurate* Swete.]
15.	*– ινα και λαληση η εικων του θηριου*	With certain cursives.

xiii. 16.	ποιήση (*pro* ποιεῖ).	Alone (faciet *Victorin, vg*). ποιησει ℵ[a] 59, *syr arm boh sah aeth Hipp* 1/2 (*sed* fecit *Prim.*)
17.	μηδεις *pro* μητις	With the 34 family only, 200 and *sah boh.*
18.	ἑξακόσια ἑξηκοντα ἑξ · *sic*	With P, *etc.* [Opposite, in the margin, λαΤεῖνος, but not in the scribe's hand. No other marginal remarks.]
xiv. 2.	– κιθαρωδων	
3.	– και *quart. ante* ουδεις	Alone. "Nec quisquam" *Prim.*
5.	αμωμοι εισιν (– γαρ)	So CAPE 12, 59, 67, 81, 100, 114, 120, 121.
8.	δευτερος *PRO* αγγελος	ℵ* et a 95-127 *syr* S.
Ibid.	η μεγαλη πολις	So 178. (*Cf. aeth.*)
Ibid.	πεπτωκε	So 12. (ℵ[a] *copt arm.*)
10.	εκ του θυμου *pro* εν τω ποτηριω	Alone. (*Cf. arm.*)
Ibid.	– και ενωπιον του αρνιου	Alone.
11.	εις τους αιωνας των αιωνων αναβαινει	(+ τους 69, *non fam.*)
13.	απο *pro* εκ (των κοπων)	So 102 only.
15.	[του θερισαι]	
18.	εξουσιαν εχων (*pro* εχων εξουσ.)	Alone. [*Negl.* Swete.]
20.	δισχιλιων [εξακοσιων]	Alone. (*Cf. gig.*)
xv. 3.	μωϋσῆ *sic*	
Ibid.	βασιλεῦ *pro* ο βασιλευς	ℵ* 18, 47, 56, 119-23 and ten others.
4.	τις σε μη φοβηθη	Alone, but close to ℵ 95-127. (*Cf.* this combination *supra* at XIV. 8.)
Ibid.	θαυμαση *pro* δοξαση	Alone so far.
Ibid.	+ κυριε *post* σου *sec.*	With A 46-88-101, 59-121, 95-127 *aeth arm* uno.
7.	+ ἁς	
xvi. 1.	ἔχετε *pro* εκχεατε	Alone. One of the very rare places where the changes make nonsense.
3.	– αυτου	Alone.
4.	εγενοντο	A 36, 56, 95, 100, 127, 200 *copt syr latt aeth Prim.*
7.	κε̄ ὁ παντο κρατωρ (– ο θεος)	So *aeth*, and (43 – ο θεος ο).

xvi. 11.	+ *και post ουρανου*	Alone.
14.	*συναγειν pro συναγαγειν*	So only 67.
xvii. 4.	*και τα ακαθαρτα της πονηριας της γης*	Alone. (*Cf.* 12, 67.)
5.	+ *αυτης post ονομα* [*Habet antea*]	Alone.
6.	− *εκ του αιματος των αγιων και εκ*	So 156. (*Cf.* 146, 154, 155 *boh*^{B}.)
Ibid.	− *ιησου*	With 1, 12, 36, 59, 67, 81, 114, 119-23, 120, 121 and *arm* ^{uno}.
8.	[*βλεποντες το θηριον*] *ὅτι ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν καὶ ὅτι πάρεστιν· ὧδε . . .*	New thus.
10.	*ὅπου pro οὔπω*	Alone with 104.
12.	*βασιλεῖαί sic pro βασιλεῖς*	Alone. [*Contra Iren.*]
18 *fin.*	*αυτης pro της γης*	Alone. (*Om.* altogether *aeth*; terrarum *Prim.*)
xviii. 2.	*μεμιαμμενου*	Alone. (*Cf.* 51-90 *Anon.*)
3.	*πεπτωκε*	With 63, 91, 114, 146.
4.	− *εκ των πληγων αυτης*	With EP *pauc.*
6.	− *υμιν*	ℵCAP, *etc.*
Ibid.	[*και διπλωσατε αυτῇ διπλα* (− *τα*)]	
6/7.	*Conjungit*	With 120 and *syr* S.
12.	− *παν prim*	Alone. (*Cf. sah.*)
13.	[*και οινον.*] [*και κτηνη και προβατα.*]	
14.	*σου της επιθυμιας της ψυχης*	With ℵCAP 95-127. [*Negl.* Swete.]
22.	*σαλπιγγων*	With ℵ the 35 family, 90, 200.

N.B. *The text now becomes conventional until we near the end of the XIXth Chapter.*

xx. 3.	*μετα δε ταυτα* (− *και*)	So 29, 30, 129 (98).
4.	*πεπελεκημενων*	So (20), 25, 58, 70, 78, 84, 94.
Ibid.	*αυτου pro του θεου*	Alone. Only clue is in *sah* with ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ, involving T.
12.	*και βιβλια ηνοιξαν· και αλλο βιβλιον ηνοιχθη*	With 29 and 40.
xxi. 5.	*λεγει pro ειπεν*	Alone with 65 and *Anon* (dicit).
7.	*αυτων pro αυτω*	With A *al et arm.* *Cf. Cypr* (*Tert:* illis).
8.	+ *εν ante πυρι*	Alone with 65.

7.

To sum up. The only "*monstra*" in reality in all this ancient medley are but :—

ii. 1. εκκλησιων for χρυσων
iii. 17. αληθινος for ελεεινος
vii. 1. ισραηλ for ινα
ix. 20. τα ειδωλα τα κωφα και χρυσα for ειδωλα τα χρυσα
x. 4. εβδομου ουρανου
xvi. 1. εχετε for εκχεατε

and, compared to other MSS., especially to the uncials, and A (which has many more), these *monstra* are well-balanced by the other remarkable features of the text, which we have already noticed.

In closing I cannot forbear to emphasise once more the polyglot character of the variations to be observed by a study of the readings shared by other MSS.

P.S.

Before proceeding with our investigation, I would like to call your attention to a tiny non-commentary MS. in Greece, which throws much light on our polyglot or Version problem.

I have had to collate it out of order, having only recently received the photographs of it. Notwithstanding its diminutive size (4 inches by 3), and its execution with a quill or a stub pen, and its many itacisms, and its numerous omissions, it is of great importance. This document also occurs in a volume of Miscellanies. Owing to its reception so late, I have had to attribute to it the number 113, instead of its former number in the catalogues.

I am inclined to think that it is copied direct from a rather late uncial, which in turn had already been somewhat reworked to the B or Q base, but contained very many ancient readings. This late uncial had been guilty of many errors of omission, due to homoioteleuton, which our scribe never tries to remedy. This alone shows that he did not revise his copy or consult other documents. And, as a rule, these manifold omissions do not injure the sense, and, therefore, he would not notice that anything was missing.

Now, to plunge at once into the heart of the matter. I have long waited for a Greek MS. which would give me the θαλασσης of

syr S for the *αβυσσου* of the current text in XI. 8. Until now (and we are up to No. 200), I had found none. But this little MS. has it! And not only this, but many another rare lection, tucked away so deep in the small writing that it takes a good pair of eyes and much watchfulness to avoid missing important detail.

Besides this reading, here are a few more of the sympathetic readings with *syr* S.

i. 13. The very unusual + *αυτου* after *προς τους μαστους* with *syr aeth* and *copt*, but not Latin nor any other Greek MS.

ii. 1. *χειρι pro δεξια*. So *syr* S alone.

13. – *οπου κατοικει ο σατανας*. So *syr* S and only 38 [*non* 178].

iii. 12. – *εκ του ουρανου*. So *syr* S, quite alone with us.

v. 3. *και λυσαι τας σφραγιδας αυτου* (*pro ουδε βλεπειν αυτο*). So *syr* S, alone with us and only 108 (sister of the important 56).

vi. 4. – *αλλος*. Our MS, 130, *syr* S and *copt*.

ix. 20. – *δυναται*. So *syr* S alone with us.

Ibid. In this same verse we have the very unusual order of: *και τα ξυλινα και τα λιθινα* with *syr* S, *boh* [*non sah*] Greek ℵ and *fam* 119, the latter being the most ancient source of *fam* 1.

x. 1. – *ισχυρον*. With *syr* S only and 146 *com.*

8. – *το ηνεωγμενον*. So *syr* S and 130, 146 *com.* only, but these retain *το* or its equivalent.

xviii. 3. – *του θυμου*. So *syr* S, 130 and *Primasius*.

11. *και pro οτι*. So *syr* S alone.

14. *ενδεδυμενοις* (agreeing with *ιπποις λευκοις*). So *syr* S and ℵ 152, 178 only.

Now comes a curious composition of *syr* S and Σ, at

xx. 6. We read *τω θεω και τω χριστω* + *αυτου* for the usual "*του θεου και του χριστου*." Observe that: 38 and *syr* S give us the dative, while 111 and *syr* Σ give us + *αυτου*; and at:

xxi. 18 *syr* S and *syr* Σ both agree with us, alone, to read: *χρυσιου καθαρου* instead of *χρυσιον καθαρον*.

If you turn to the *Armenian*, you find a score of striking coincidences, among them :—

II. 24 – *λοιποις*; VI. 11 *αποθνησκειν pro αποκτεινεσθαι* without a single other Greek MS., or another version; IX. 7 *ανθρωπων pro*

ανθρωπων fin ; IX. 21 – *αυτων post πορνειας*; XIV. 9 + *την δεξιαν post χειρι αυτου*; XV. 3 – *δικαιαι* and 200 only; XXII. 9 – *βιβλου primo loco, arm*, our MS. and 59 only.

If you turn to the *Coptic*, you find at XI. 10 + λεγοντες with the Coptic quite alone; XI. 15 *βασιλευσουσιν* for *βασιλευσει* alone among Greeks, with three MSS. of *boh ;* at XIX. 7 we have *δοξαζωμεν την δοξαν αυτου* with 81 only of the Greeks. Compare the Coptic. At XIX. 13, we omit *το ονομα αυτου*. So only the *bohairic*. At XXI. 14, omit δωδεκα before *αποστολων*, and thus only, among the whole range of our documents, do *sah* and *arm* likewise omit.

We must dwell a moment on the passage at XX. 10. This is a most peculiar place. Of all MSS. and Versions, only our MS. and *boh* add "burning in" (*την καιομενην εν*) before "fire and brimstone." But our MS. adds *εβλυθησαν* (*sic*) after ὁ *ψευδοπροφητης*, and *boh* does *not*. The only other MS. to add anything is 130, which adds *εβληθη* earlier after *το θηριον*, repeating the "casting in." Now *sah* apparently does this, and at first sight it looked as if it did after *ο ψευδοπροφητης* also, but while *boh* transliterates *ψευδοπροφητης*, *sah* uses *προφητης* and the coptic word for "mendax" ⲛⲟⲩϫ, having previously used the same word before *το θηριον*. Now ⲛⲉϫ or ⲛⲟϫ or ⲛⲟⲩϫⲉ in sahidic means to *cast down*, so that some confusion has arisen here, as between sahidic and the Greek MSS. 113 and 130 as to this additional *εβληθη*. The thing seems indubitable. The bohairic word used (earlier in the verse) for *εβληθη* is different : ⲁϥϩⲓⲧϥ.

If we turn to the *Aethiopic*, we find similar points of contact, in at least a score of places. Observe :—

i. 4/5. *ενωπιον του θρονου αυτου και του ιησου χριστου*, this του replacing *απο*, and completely changing the sense.

5. *υμας* instead of *ημας* after both *αγαποντι* and *λυσαντι*, quite alone with *aeth.*

v. 2. + *λεγων* after *τις*. Our MS., *aeth*, and *boh* 1/2.

8. *επεσον* + *και προσεκυνησαν*. Here is *composition*, alone among Greek MSS., but *aeth* has "*adoraverunt*" simply. [See below on XXI. 27 for a similar thing.]

xi. 8. – *πλατειας* (*legens*: "*επι της πολεως*"). So our MS. and *aeth* alone.

xi. 9. – *και εθνων*. Our MS., two others (81, 121) and *aeth*.

xii. 4. – *της μελλουσης τεκειν*. A most probable omission, yet no Greek MSS. omit, and no Versions but *aeth*.

xv. 5. *ἡ σκηνη pro ο ναος της σκηνης*. So *aeth* with us alone.

We ought, perhaps, to have started this exhibition by saying that at the outset we find agreement between our MS. and the Fleury palimpsest, our oldest Latin MS. *h* (unfortunately extant for only a small portion of the Apocalypse), and, indeed, immediately at :—

i. 3 we find our MS. saying *ακουων* for *ακουοντες*, alone with 40 (a græco-syriac MS.) and 146 (the Oecumenian MS.) and *aeth*, which corresponds to the "qui legit et audit" of *h*. If this be considered indeterminate, the matter is clinched at :

7 by *οψονται αυτον pro κοψονται επ αυτον* by our MS. with 102, *copt* and *h*. [As to ℵ here, the first hand lacks *επ*, but retains *κοψονται*.] Further, at :

17 *εθηκε επ'εμε την δεξιαν αυτου* (– *χειρα επ'εμε*) is the equivalent order of *h* : "imposuit super me desteram suam"
Prim : "posuit „ „ „ „ "
as against the usual : "posuit dexteram suam super me," as *Gigas* writes here. [The difference between *Prim* and *h* being only as between *επεθηκε* and *εθηκε*, while the strange order agrees with us alone.]

It must not be thought from this that *Gigas* does not also have its points of contact with us, for in another anti-Greek matter of order, close by, at

iii. 10 *επι ολης της οικουμενης* we agree with *Gigas* alone. And at :

16 we read *αλ' οτι pro ουτως οτι* alone with *gig* ;

Ibid. – *και ουτε ψυχρος ουτε ζεστος*. So *gig*.

xii. 10. *Gigas* and *syr* S support our order of : *εκ του ουνου λεγ*.

xvi. 13. – *τρια*. So *Gigas*.

xix. 10. + *ποιησας post ορα μη*. So *Gigas*, supported by *Prim*, but among Greeks by 32, 95-127 and 159 only, besides our MS.

xxii. 9. + *ποιησης post ορα μη*, again with the same group 32, 127 (*hiat* 95 *hoc loco*), plus 56, another important Greek document, and *gig Prim*.

We have no space to take up the intense agreement, but only in very occasional places, with Greek MSS. like 18, 40, 56, 59, 81, 100, 102, 104, 111, 114 or 122 (note here specially 113-122 together at : III. 20 *κρουων pro κρουω*, and V. 4 *επιπολυ pro πολλα* suddenly occurring out of a clear sky), or with 32 specially towards

the close, in half a dozen places. It would be interesting to follow this out in our search for the bases, for the respective agreements are thoroughly scattered; and while we have a little sympathy with the Oecumenian MS. 146 in a few places, we are treated to complete agreement in III. 17 with ὁ ταπεινος (for ὁ ταλαιπωρος of *all* other MSS.). And at XI. 13, while *Oec.* omits ονοματα ανθρωπων alone, we omit ανθρωπων, and 130 and 200 *substitute* ανδρων, showing something was wrong at this place far back in the history of transmission; as shown by omission of ονοματα in *sah*, numero *pro* ονοματα *Prim*, πνευματα *pro* ονοματα ανθρωπων *aeth*, ονοματων ανθρωπων *boh*, ονοματα ανθρωποι *syr* S.

Add xi. 9. + και *ante* αφησουσιν both 113 and 146, omitting the previous clause.

xxii. 17. λεγουσα 113 and 146 but 146 omits και το πνευμα, which justifies it completely in using λεγουσα instead of λεγουσιν.

How far back many of these things go is to be seen by our unique agreement elsewhere with *Primasius*, as at :—

xvi. 8. εν πυρι καυματησαι τους ανθρωπους.
xvii. 8. + του αρνιου *post* ζωης.
xxi. 11. + την φωτιζουσαν αυτην.

Or, pushing the enquiry further back still to *Hippolytus*, we agree alone with him at :—

xvii. 8. θαυμασουσιν for θαυμασονται.

xviii. 12. χρυσιου ἡ αργυριου. Our MS., while *Hippol* apparently gives χρυσιου και αργυριου, but agrees alone to abandon the χρυσου and αργυρου of other Greek documents.

xix. 13. ερραντισμενον. Ourselves and *Hippol*, only supported by 35-87-132, 95-127 and the græco-armenian MS. 109.

There are, of course, clear survivals of the text of ℵ, A, C, P, sometimes in combination, as at :—

xviii. 21. – ισχυρος ℵA, but no cursives but the present one under discussion.

xiv. 13. χριστω *pro* κυριω by CP 130 and ourselves only,

but what is the situation when we abandon the oldest Greek uncials as a body, and flock with the Versions *combined?*

Now, as to agreement *with the Versions in combination, exclusive of other Greek* evidence, notice this :—

xiii. 4. *Post* τω δρακοντι τω δεδωκοτι + αυτω. Thus we find + τουτω by *syr, copt, aeth* in combination, together with *Iren* and *Prim*, but no other Greek MSS.

xiv. 4. γυναικος *pro* γυναικων. Generic, confirmed by 164 *aeth, boh* and *sah* in combination.

8. ηκολουθησεν + αυτω, and so *syr* S and Σ, *copt, aeth, arm plur* and *Prim*.

15. + λεγων *ante* τω καθημενω, and so *copt, arm, aeth* collectively.

xvi. 6. Order: προφητων και αγιων. So also *syr* S, *sah* combined, and 32 and 109 *gr* and *arm*.

xxii. 2 *init.* + και. 143, 200 *Gig, aeth, arm, syr* S [*non copt*].

8 *init.* − και. *Sah, boh, syr* S, *vg, aliq*.

12. − εσται. *Gig, sah, boh, syr* S, and a few Greeks.

The proof of retranslation from the Versions is now apparent and is almost openly avowed at :—

v. 8. επεσον + και προσεκυνησαν. Our MS. alone, with *aeth* "adoraverunt," and

xxi. 27. κοινον + ἢ ακαθαρτον by our MS. alone, where we find *Primasius* rendering κοινον by *inmundum* (against the "*commune*" of *gig vg* and other Fathers), while *sah boh aeth syr* Σ all translate κοινον with words signifying *pollutum* or *inmundum*. Hence the secret methods of the recension, spread so long indirectly before our eyes, seem now to be clearly acknowledged.

Some well-disposed doubters, nevertheless, may say—however improbable the connection—that the redactor had in mind the "κοινὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον" of St. Peter's vision in Acts X. 14, but then why does no other Greek MS. have the addition? Beyond this, we need only look at the other evidence collaterally submitted above, in order to rest assured that the whole performance of our MS. is of a piece, and I resume the evidence thus :—

Upon an exceedingly ancient base, some reviser adapted his text, after consulting the various Versions, and probably other Greek documents. Another came along and revised very sparingly and moderately to the B type, this type originating in the seventh or eighth century.

We are thus left with remarkable *vestigia* of the process, from before *Hippolytus'* time onwards.

If we consult *Primasius* himself, we will see that he indulged in the self-same process. The *Aethiopic* bears the same testimony. The *Armenian* ditto.

They all, with our MS. 113, builded upon an ancient base, but, with an "improving" tendency, consulted the various available authorities, and spoiled what for us would have been an invaluable fount, if they had left well alone.

Remember that this MS. of ours is in a small volume of Miscellanies, and thus escaped revising hands of another kind.

But you will say, "What has all this to do with the basic Greek text, of which we are in search?" That is precisely the point at issue. First, we have to show this variety of Version influence on the Greek MSS. as we have done above, and which may be resumed thus:

With *arm*	alone	vi. 11.	*αποθνησκειν pro αποκτεινεσθαι.*
„ *aeth*	„	xv. 5.	*ἡ σκηνη pro ὁ ναος της σκηνης.*
„ *syr* S	„	xi. 7.	*θαλασης pro αβυσσου.*
„ *coptic*	„	xi. 10.	+ *λεγοντες post αλληλοις.*
„ *boh*	„	xx. 10.	+ *την καιομενην εν.*
„ *sah*	„	xx. 10.	+ *εβλυθησαν.*
„ *gigas*	„	xi. 8.	+ *κοιτασθησονται* (see beyond).

Secondly, we have to decide what of all this goes back to the underlying Greek. Now we know that much of it does *not*, for there still exist many other interesting readings in the Syriac, the Coptics, the Latin, the Aethiopic, and the Armenian, with which the Greek MSS. have nothing to do.

These readings are so bound up with the others, which some of the Greek MSS. *do* adopt, that we know these Greek MSS. picked and chose from the Versions, turning phrases back into Greek, while some slight element may well be basic, but not by any means all.

It is perhaps difficult to explain this to the outsider.

Will you do me a favour? Come and look over my shoulder as I enter a MS. in my Ledger of Collected Readings, and follow the play of these matters.

We are in the middle of the xith chapter. We have just picked up *θαλασης* (*sic*) for *αβυσσου* in the 7th verse, remember, and you want to know whether this reading, opposed by all other Greek

MSS. but the one we are looking at, takes us back to the underlying Greek base, common to *syr* S. and our MS.

Look well then at the very next verse, verse 8, where the ordinary text runs as follows :—

καὶ τὰ πτώματα αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς πλατείας πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης, ἥτις καλεῖται πνευματικῶς Σόδομα καὶ Αἴγυπτος, ὅπου καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν ἐσταυρώθη.

Recent editors have changed τὰ πτώματα to τὸ πτῶμα, and as no verb follows, we need not discuss the justice of the change. They have added τῆς before πόλεως which is doubtless right, and they have changed ἡμῶν to αὐτῶν, for which there is very good and very numerous authority, strange as the innovation may seem to you. [Oecumenius in his commentary explains it : "ὅπου καὶ ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν, τούτεστι τῶν δύο μαρτύρων ἐσταυρώθη"].

But that is the beginning of the problem, and not the end of it, if we are honestly in search of the basic text.

Because, in the first place, all the Latins, old and young, conspire with the sahidic and the bohairic versions against the reading τὰ πτώματα to read τὰ σώματα at the outset, which our MS. here adopts, *against* both Syriacs, and the Armenian, and the Aethiopic.

We proceed to enter from our collation of this new Greek MS., and suddenly we are astounded to find the addition of κοιτασθησονται —(not extant in our New Testament vocabulary)—occurring after και τα σωματα αυτων and before the word ἐπι. What does this mean ? Well, we find that the ancient witness *Gigas* also has the addition of *jacebunt*, alone among the Latins, and therefore agrees with us. This is no recent reading then, for you remember that the Gigas codex, so important in the Acts and Apocalypse, reproduces word for word and at great length Lucifer's fourth-century testimony We are back in the fourth century then. (The Armenian as well as the Vulgate confirm this.) Has *Primasius* anything to say on the subject ? Yes, he has an addition also, but a different one. He adds "ponet" (the MSS. of his writings vary between ponit, ponat, and ponet, according to Dr. Vogels' latest edition). In his commentary, as Sabatier and Zahn point out, he says : "Alia translatio, corpus, *posuit*" (agreeing with the Aethiopic) : "duorum dixit corpus unum, aliquando in subsequentibus corpora . . . *projicietur* (*al.* proicitur) id est spernetur . . ." So also Tichonius and Beatus.

This *ponit* or *posuit* we do not yet find among the Greek witnesses [but see Oec. below], but our No. 59 (a somewhat remarkable witness) adds πεσουνται after the mention of the city, which is a kind of half-way house between *ponere* and *projicere*. The Anonymous commentator on the Apoc. uses *projicietur*, the word mentioned by *Primasius*.

Have we finished with the Greek witnesses? Not by any means. We have a document, No. 18, which is evidently of Græco-Syriac origin (like 40), and 18 adds ριψει in the same place as 59 adds πεσουνται. Now ριψει equates not *jacebat* but *jactabat*. We are here closer to *Gigas* than to the *projicietur* of *Prim.* and *Anon.* The *Armenian* has an addition slightly differing, and translated by Coneybeare "shall remain lying."

Well, what have the Syriacs to say to all this? *They know nothing of it.* The MSS. of both versions S and Σ have *no* addition.

What about bohairic and sahidic? In this case, while quite independent of the other versions, they *have* an addition, and a *different* one. They have expressions corresponding to το σωμα αυτων or τα σωματα αυτων, εσται or εσονται, "will be." Is there any Greek support? Yes, my ledger tells me that a corrector of the fourth-century Greek MS. ℵ, viz. the corrector ℵ^{c}, adds εσται in the same place, and certain MSS. of Erasmus family 1, viz. 62, 63, 72, 136, etc., add εσονται after πολεως. *So they are all involved.* But we are looking for the basic text; and in addition to the Syriac, and the Greek Uncials, most of my important cursive documents with a very old text, like 40, 56, 38-178, 111, 130, 170, 200, are perfectly silent here.

We turn to Oecumenius in our MS. 146, and there we find in his text: το πτωμα and + θησει after πλατειας, thus in a sense Graecising for us the expression of *Primasius*, and giving us yet another Greek variant addition.

In his (hitherto unpublished) commentary, Oec. says this:—

"ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ἔσται, οὗ ἐστιν ἡ παρουσία κατ' ἐνέργειαν τοῦ σατανᾶ καθὼς ἐναυχος εἴρηται· τοῦτο οὖν, φησιν, τὸ θηρίον ἀποκτενεῖ τοὺς δύο μάρτυρας· καὶ τὰ πτώματα αὐτῶν, ἄταφα ῥίψει ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις τῆς ἱλημ·,"

thus preceding the remarks of Andreas. In one of our large families 21-28-73-79-79a-80-99-103-112-(130)-138-170, we have the addition of ἀταφα *post* μεγαλης, while ριψει has been already supplied by 18 (and we find another variant, ριφησεται, in the important MS. 159).

This large 21 family also adds εασει before επι, being a last variation for the Coptic addition.

There you have a picture from Gigas onward at a period from which the oldest Greek witnesses which have come down to us may be said to date. This picture is exceptional, with its mass of detail, and for this reason we have chosen it to illustrate the matter.

We will not wait to discuss a number of variations in the matter of the phrase as to the πλατειας της πολεως. There are a number of interesting small variants in which 18, Gigas, and the Syriac are involved.

But the point we make of retranslation into Greek from the Versions very early, quite apart from any basic text being involved, is, I think, made abundantly clear from the above.

Now, as regards the basic text, if *a common* underlying text were involved or concerned, we would also agree elsewhere in this same chapter with other unusual readings of the versions, as at :—

xi. 1.	+ χρυσους *post* καλαμος	by *copt* and *aeth*,
4.	+ πασης *ante* της γης	„ *syr* S,
5.	− αδικησαι *pr. loco*	„ *copt*,
Ibid.	nocere — ledere *pro* αδικησαι *bis*	„ *gigas*,
Ibid.	θελησει εν τουτοις	„ *Hippolytus*,
6.	καταβαινη *pro* βρεχη	„ *syr* S,
Ibid.	ταπεινωσαι *pro* παταξαι	„ *syr* S,
Ibid.	+ τον δρομον αυτων και	„ *Hippolytus*,
13.	+ και *ante* ονοματα	„ *syr* S,

but we do not.

I do not mean to say that *all* the sporadic agreement with the Versions,—first with one and then with another,—is *all* due to their reflex action on the Greek. But I *do* mean to say that *most* of it is. The residuum, after sorting this out, of course probably applies to the old foundation text, of which we can get glimpses occasionally, and succeed in dating the accretions, and in accounting for them.

Thus, we have an excellent example at xiii. 5. Here is the ordinary text :—

"καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ στόμα λαλοῦν μεγάλα καὶ βλασφημίας· καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία ποιῆσαι μῆνας τεσσαράκοντα δύο."

An innocent enough looking verse ! But there is something wrong about εξουσια ποιησαι. Power to do what ? The consequence is that the Complutensian, following its MSS. (which we have identified) and followed by Beza and Elzevir, added πολεμον between εξουσια and ποιησαι, and Colinæus adds after ποιησαι. They are supported by EB of the uncials and no less than a hundred cursives, but they are doubtless wrong. This group includes *good* cursives like 47, 56, simply because they had to make the best of a bad job. Even our MS. 113, *while excluding* εξουσαι, *incorporates* πολεμον.

Now the secret is this. The texts of *Irenæus* aud *Dionysius* (extant here) omit ποιησαι, leaving us with "και εδοθη αυτω εξουσια" . . . "and was given to him authority : for forty-two months." In fact *Dion.* adds και before μηνας to emphasize matters. But ℵ 100 and 113 omit εξουσια INSTEAD OF ποιησαι, because they misread the indications in the foundation copy as to the right word to omit !

The matter is further illustrated by the fact that ℵ scratched his head and wanted to complete the sense, so he *supplies* ὃ θέλει before μηνας. The beast was given to do *what he wished* for forty-two months. No cursives support. Only one version. That one is *aeth.* Thus the source which influenced ℵ was accessible to *aeth*, or *aeth* got it later than the time of ℵ. (The Aethiopic version works hard to overcome many ancient difficulties.) There is nothing else to detain us in the verse.

But it offers additional proof that 113 reproduces as to *base* a text or texts of most respectable age.

In this connection, I can mention that 113 is the *only* cursive to support ℵ at XVIII. 14, where that MS. reads ριπαρα for λιπαρα, and we have ροιπαρα.

This is, of course, a small matter, but it shows how the wind blows. Shortly afterwards, at XVIII. 18, another proof occurs. For ορωντες, ℵ* writes first λεγοντες, then changes this to λεποντες, and finally to βλεποντες. Our MS. now writes calmly and without hesitation (but

also without other support): λεγοντες· βλεπον. Most have simply βλεποντες, instead of ορωντες.

But we shall never distinguish the elements of the lost primal text, unless we assemble, more carefully than hitherto, the keys existing in the Syriac, Coptic, Latin, Aethiopic, and Armenian versions, which link these up in very early times with certain of our Greek documents, and assist in simplifying the problem by directing attention to the character of the Greek texts severally (and sometimes compositely) underlying the Version texts.

Substitutions and transpositions in our MS. appear to be purposeful. Additions are quite rare, a very good signal of no thirteenth-century editing contemporaneous with the last scribe.

Omissions, when not simple errors in the original, have a certain object. Thus the shortened form of the threat to Laodicea (III. 15/16) is a good example. Our MS. briefly sets forth the whole matter thus :—

> "Οἶδα σου τὰ ἔργα· ὅτι ψυχρὸς ἢ καὶ οὐ ζεστος· ἀλ' ὅτι χλιαρὸς ἢ· μελλω σε ἐμέσε ἐκ τοῦ στόματος μου."

Some accretion there must have been, since the original text of the Seer was set down, as can be seen by variations in other documents. All are far more prolix.

In the matter of *substitutions*, take as an example : XIV. 4, γυναικος in the singular, for γυναικων of *all* other Greeks except 157 and 164.

But this has good Version support—(*aeth*, *boh*, *sah*, and doubtless *Syriac* originally)—and sounds very likely to have been corrupted to the plural later.

"These are they who have had no contact with *WOMAN*—(not 'women')—for virgins are they."

Again, at X. 2, as to the substitution of γεγραμενον—(the scribe always writes this word with one μ)—for ανεωγμενον, quite alone among the Greek witnesses, while Greek A and the Coptic conspire to show us a blank here, seems to indicate that *both* words may be additions. The sense requires *neither* word :—

". . . And having in his hand a little book."

But at X. 3 (immediately thereafter) κυμᾶται for μυκᾶται (of the lion roaring) may be merely the frothing (or due to the somnolence)

of the scribe himself. [Note, however, that it is not a mere slip or error, but a real word].

Among unique substitutions, not countenanced by other Greeks, or by the Versions, we might refer to φαραγγι (a Septuagint word) *pro* φαρμακεια in XVIII. 23. I hardly know what to make of it, whether we accept φαραγγι or φαλαγγι. There is no trace of this in other Greek documents. However, our unwonted and unique ἐμαγευσαν (not a Septuagint word) in XVII. 2 for εμεθυσθησαν may show the trend of the recension.

This also applies to βασανισθησετε (*vult* – ται) for κατακαυθησεται in XVIII. 8.

In the matter of *omissions*, we cannot be precise, owing to the apparent carelessness of our scribe's predecessor at an indeterminate date.

As to *additions*, most are of the very slightest importance. The more important ones all have Version support, notably :—

xi. 8. + κοιτασθησονται with *gig, etc.* (previously referred to).
xix. 10. + ποιησας *post* ορα μη „ 32, 95-127, 159 *gig Prim vg.*
xxii. 9. + ποιησης „ „ „ „ 32, 56, 127 (*hiat* 95) *gig Prim vg.*

The reader will want to know something about other strange readings, so far having *no* support. The list is a long and curious one. I will give a few to satisfy a legitimate curiosity :—

i. 10. πνευματικως *vid* (*compendio*) for εν πνι. [Observe that 143 (see article 3) *omits*].
11. και πεμψον + αυτα (– ταις εκκλησιαις) εις εφεσον κ.τ.λ. "And send *them* to Ephesus. . . ."
ii. 13. + οὐκ *ante* απεκτανθη ("Antipas, my faithful witness, who was *not* murdered among you").
iii. 10. ημερας του πειρασμου *pro* ωρας του πειρασμου [against plain omission of the word by *syr* S and *copt.* Always a danger signal!]
20. – και αυτος μετ' εμου. A curious omission, and yet plausible enough if we consider such a balancing clause to be an early *addition.*
iv. 5. επορευοντο *pro* εκπορευονται, avoiding reduplication of ἐκ.
ix. 1. πεσῶ (*sic*) *pro* πεπτωκοτα.
x. 2. δεξια *pro* χειρι. (See, for the counterpart, under Syriac at II. 1.)

x. 10. *καρδια pro κοιλια*, but this has the support of 59, while we do not so write in verse 9. It might well be that *καρδια* in the *second* place is correct, and *κοιλια* in verse 9, because very early the places may have been assimilated and accommodated.

xii. 4. – *αυτους*. (In the Coptics the word is involved in the verb.)

10. *αρτι εγενετο η σωτηρια* (*pro βασιλεια*) *και η δυναμις και η εξουσια* (*pro βασιλεια*) *του θεου ημων και η βασιλεια* (*pro εξουσια*) *του χριστου αυτου*. It is difficult to understand this threefold change. It is done without a tremor.

xiii. 16. – *και τους πτωχους*.

xvi. 5. *δικαια εκρινας pro ταυτα εκρινας*.

xvii. 9. – *οπου η γυνη καθηται επ αυτων*.

10. – *και οταν ελθη*. (Possible error from homoioteleuton in the Coptic, which, however, does not itself omit.)

14. *κυριος μυριων* for *κυριος κυριων*. Not repeated later upon another occasion.

xix. 17. *πορευομενοις pro πεπτωμενοις*. (No Versions, but *Prim* and *arm*^{2} *omit* the word. Another danger signal!)

xxi. 16. *μηκος pro υψος*.

17. "*μετρον αγγελου ο εστιν ανθρωπου*" (a complete inversion). *Obs. ουνου pro ανου* 114, *ουρανου pleno* 143.

xxii. 1. – *υδατος ζωης*. (No others. Some read *ζωντος* (104) and others the equivalent *vivae* for *vitae* (*gig Patr latt syr*).)

2. *εχων pro ποιουν*.

Ibid. *τοις πιστοις pro των εθνων* (following + *κατηγγελετε* after *ξυλου* in the same verse, with a few Greek cursives).

11. *και ο δικαιωσας pro και ο δικαιος*.

I offer my excuses for this very partial presentation of a most complicated subject.

But for the courtesy of the Editor, I could not have presumed to add even this much. But time presses, the cycles continue on their courses, life is short, eyes are weakening, and it seems desirable to put on record this witness, arriving so late amongst our material, and yet present in our catalogues for these many years past. Von Soden does not use it.

I would close my rapid survey with this observation. Upon the right hand pages of my Ledger of collected readings, I have pencilled in the more important readings obtained from collations of the Versions and Fathers. Many of these are gradually being removed—each time

I collate an important Greek document, many transfers take place—to the left-hand side, to join the collected readings of Greek MSS., with or without Version and patristic support.

There will still be left a fairly large residuum, with which to elucidate the problem of the basic texts, and mere accretions thereto and whether the basic text was Greek or Graeco-Syriac.

HAND-LISTS OF CHARTERS AND DEEDS IN THE POSSESSION OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

By ROBERT FAWTIER, D. ès Lettres.

ASSISTANT-KEEPER OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

II.

THE NICHOLAS PAPERS.

THE records calendared in the following list are part of the papers of the Nicholas Family, to which belonged Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State to Charles I. and Charles II. and whose correspondence Mr. G. F. Warner has published for the Camden Society.[1] The papers, acquired by the library at a public auction in London in 1919,[2] relates to Sir Edward Nicholas and his two sons John and Edward.

[R. 45808] 1 West-Horsley (Co. Surrey), Court-Roll, Feb. 27th, 1385—Sept. 28th, 1497.

[—] 2 West-Horsley (Co. Surrey), Court-Roll, June 4th, 1474—Oct. 6th, 1485.

[—] 3 West-Horsley (Co. Surrey), Court-Roll, Nov. 20th, 1556—March 20th, 1601.

[1] *Correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State*, ed. by F. Warner, 4 vol. in 8°, 1886-1920. [Camden Society, N.S. 40, 50, 57; 3d S. xxxi.]. The reader will find in Mr. Warner's preface all the information available concerning the Nicholas Papers.

[2] *A catalogue of valuable aud interesting autograph letters, MSS. and documents comprising . . . documents connected with the Raleigh and Nicholas families . . . which will be sold by auction by Messrs. Hodgson and Co. . . . on Thursday, May 22nd*, 1919, nos 1-20.

[R. 45808] 4 West-Horsley (Co. Surrey), Court-Roll, Apr. 24th, 1605—Apr. 6th, 1624.

[—] 5 West-Horsley (Co. Surrey), Court-Roll, Apr. 7th, 1625—Apr. 29th, 1650.

[—] 6 West-Horsley (Co. Surrey), Court-Roll, Oct. 10th, 1650—Oct. 9th, 1668.

[—] 7 West-Horsley (Co. Surrey), Court-Roll, March 20th, 1654—March 18th, 1655.

[—] 8 West-Horsley (Co. Surrey), Court-Roll, Oct. 10th, 1656—Oct. 19th, 1668.

[—] 9 West-Horsley (Co. Surrey), Court-Roll, Dec. 16th, 1669—Oct. 15th, 1672.

[—] 10 West-Horsley (Co. Surrey), Court-Roll, Oct. 22nd, 1673—Apr. 22nd, 1680.

[—] 11 West-Horsley (Co. Surrey), Court-Roll, Oct. 18th, 1681—Oct. 26th, 1688.

[—] 12 West-Horsley (Co. Surrey), Court-Roll, May 9th, 1690—Oct. 13th, 1701.

[—] 13 West-Horsley (Co. Surrey), Court-Roll, Oct. 9th, 1702—Oct. 18th, 1709.

[R. 45809] 14 Sir Edward Nicholas and Sir John Nicholas account book. 1664-1690.

[—] 15 Mr. Edward Nicholas account book. 1695-1696.

[—] 16 Account book 1688-1699.

[—] 17 An account of what money has been disbursed [and received] at Wykes Farm from Christmas 1675 to November 1712.

[—] 18 Rates for repairs of public bridges and passing vagrants. 1700-1709.

[—] 19 The accounts of my affairs at Gillingham from Michaelmas 1706 when Henry Bourne began to manage the same together with the state of Mrs. Green account made up by her order with H. Bourne. November the 4th 1706, at Horseley, (signed) E.N.

[—] 20 A bundle of letters and accounts relating to the same estate.

[—] 21 Account of the Winterborne Stoke and Earle estate. 1693-1723.

[—] 22 Geometry, Astronomy and also Walley's Ledger 1672-1674. India (*sic*).

[—] 23 Accounts rendered to E. Nicholas. 1716-1723.

[—] 24 A register of the freehold and copyhold of the manor of West Horsley, with, for each tenure, the summary of the deeds relating to the tenure.

[R. 45810] 25 Anglia. The honorable Edward Nicholas Esqre, treasurer and receiver generall to her late majesty (of blessed memory) Queen Mary, upon his accompt for the summe of CXX^M CCCCIIII^xx XVII £ . XII^s . XI^d ¼ by him received for payment of the ffees, wages and entertainments of her late majesty officers, warrants and pensioners and other services for 11° years and a quarter ended the XXIIIIth of june 1697.

[—] 26 The same for two years ended June 24th, 1699.

[—] 27 The same for two years ended June 24th, 1701.

[—] 28 Anglia. Edward Nicholas, Esq., treasurer and receiver generall to her late majesty Queen Mary (of blessed memory), upon his account for the mony by him received for ffees, wages and enterteinments to severall of her late Majesty's warrants, etc., between the XXIIIIth day of june 1701 and the XXIIIIth day of june 1703.

[—] 29 Anglia. Edward Nicholas, Esqr, paymaster of the late Queen Mary's pensioners, upon his account of the mony by him received for the said service between XXIIIIth of june 1703 and XXIIIIth of june 1705.

[—] 30 Anglia. Edward Nicholas, Esqr, paymaster of her Majesty's bountys, upon his account of the mony by him received for that service by the space of one year and eleven month, comencing XXIIIIth of june 1705, and ending XXVIth of April 1707.

[—] 31 Anglia. Edward Nicholas, Esq., deceased, paymaster of her late Majesty's bountys, exhibited by John Nicholas, Esqr, his administrator and residuary legatee between the XXIIIIth day of June 1713, and the XXIIIIth day of March 1715.

[—] 32 Anglia. Treasurer and Receiver generall to her Majestie. — The duplicatum of the account of the Honorable Edward Nicholas, Esqr., Treasurer and receiver generall to her Majestie for one yeare from Lady Day 1693 to Lady Day 1694 in the 6th year of their Majesties reigne. — VI^to 1694

[—] 33 Anglia. Treasurer and Receiver generall to her late Majestie. — The accompt of the honorable Edward Nicholas, Esqr., Treasurer and receiver generall to her late Majestie (of glorious memory) Queen Mary for one year from Lady Day 1694 to Lady Day 1695 in the VIIth yeare of the reigne of their Majesties King William and Queen Mary. — VII^to 1695

[R. 45810] 34 The duplicatum of the account of the honorable Edward Nicholas, Esqr., treasurer and receiver generall to her late Majestie Queen Mary, for two years and a quarter, ended at Midsomer. } 1697

[—] 35 The office of the treasurer and receiver generall to His Royal Highness, *viz.* { The duplicament of the accompt of the honorable Edward Nicholas, Esquire, treasurer and receiver generall to his royal Higness Prince George of Denmark, for one year from Midsummer 1702 to Midsummer 1703 in the year of our Sovereign Lady Queen Anne. } the II^d 1703

[—] 36 The same from Midsummer 1703 to Midsummer 1704.

[—] 37 The same from Midsummer 1704 to Midsummer 1705.

]—] 38 The same from Midsummer 1706 to Lady Day 1707.

[R. 45811] 39 Eight documents signed by Carew Raleigh relating to the sale of West Horsley by the said Carew Raleigh to Sir Edward Nicholas. 1664.

[R. 45812] 40 December 26th, 1656. The lease for a year from Carew Raleigh unto Walter Raleigh of the Manor of West Horsley.

[—] 41-42 December 27th 1656. Agreement between the same about a mortgage for £1000 on the said Manor.

[—] 43 Mr. Raleigh's mortgage. February 16th, 1656.

[—] 44 The agreement and lease of 22 years made at West Horsley by Mr. Carew Raleigh and Phillipp Raleigh to Mr. Benjamin Weston and others for assurance of Mrs. Ann Raleigh's portion of £2000. January 20th, 1660.

[—] 45 Lease for 24 years of lands by Carew Raleigh to Ann Tickner, widow. Feb. 27, 1661.

[—] 46 Mr. Raleigh's and others indenture leading the use of a fine which the said Mr. Raleigh and others are to levy. Jan. 20th, 1664.

[—] 47 The deed from Mr. Carew Raleigh, Mrs. Ann Raleigh, Mr. Weston and Mr. Thurland assigning their interest in the manor, lands, etc., of West Horsley for 21 years after Mr. Raleigh's death to Mr. Henry and Mr. Georges Nicholas. Jan. 20th, 1664.

[—] 48 6 July, 1664. The desesinne signed by Mr. Carew Raleigh upon the summe of £18000 acknowledged by Sir Edward Nicholas for pa y ment of £9750 according to articles of agreement made by the said Mr. Raleigh and Sir Edward Nicholas concerning the sale of West Horsley to the said Sir Edward Nicholas.

[—] 49 2^d^ July, 1664. The release and graunt of the capitall messuage,

manor and lands of Westhorsley in the county of Surrey made by Mr. Carew Raleigh to mee [Sir E. N.] and my heyres.

[R. 45813] 50 The lease from Mr. Evelyn, Mr. Prettyman and others (Feb. 14th, 1656).

[R. 45814] 51 The lease and release from Mr. Evelyn, Mr. Prettyman and others (February 15th, 1656).

[—] 52 The viscountess of Montague's mortgage of West Horsley to Mr. John Evelyn for £1000. Dec. 5, 1648.

[R. 45815] 53 Letters. Lord Aylesford to Edward Nicholas, Esqr, Aug. 2d, 1721-Dec. 6th, 1725.

[—] 54 Letters. William Dawson to the same. Dec. 21st, 1717-1725.

[—] 55 ,, . Mr. Dade to the same. 1725.

[—] 56 ,, . J. Evelyn to the same. Aug. 10th, 1725.

[—] 57 ,, . W. Goddard to the same. 1723-1725.

[—] 58 ,, . S. Godolphin to the same. 1725.

[—] 59 ,, . Mrs. Edward Nicholas to the same. Dec. 13th, [1725].

[—] 60 Letters signed H. Henn, Nick. Caren, F. R., Hannah Lockyer, W. Perkins, W. Langhorn, R. Greenes and A. King, and mostly addressed to Edward Nicholas, Esqr., 1643-1726.

[—] 61 Miscellaneous papers concerning West Horsley and Sir Edward Nicholas, among them: "An inventorie of Sir Edward Nicholas, his goods in Guildhall," another inventory, a petition of the Mayor and inhabitants of Shaston (1728), abstracts of court leet, etc.

[—] 62 Various accounts and money matters.

[—] 63 A bundle of papers including light literature, notes for lectures, school notes, nursery rhymes, etc.

[R. 45816] 64 Gillingham (Dorset). Manor book. Dec. 5th, 1468-March 21st, 1546.

[R. 45817] 65 The perambulacion of Gillingham Fforreste and Parke.

The custome of Gillingham.

The boundes of the fforeste and common, the fforreste the Kinges: the common the Queenes.

The mannors of the woode court.

The mannor of Gillingham being ancient demandes and percell of the possession of the crowne and a longe tyme percell of the Queenes joynture of England.

A remembrance of the payment of xxs a year from Mere.

How Gillingham fforrest and parke hath past from tyme to tyme.

To showe what authoritie the bayliffe of the mannor hath under the Queene in her libertie.

[R. 45817] 66 Gillingham Mannor—A rental made and certefyed by John Wollridge the nowe deputye Bayliffe of the said mannor of all the rents . . . payable to the Princes Highness yearly as ffollowethe the 28th of October, 1624.

[—] 67 An accompte of the mannor of Gillingham. Anno Io Eliz. [transcript].

[—] 68 Collected notes of records concerning Gillingham.

[—] 69 The orders of the Courte of the Mannor of Gillingham with the Boundarye of the said Mannor . . . in January, 1638.

[—] 70 Edward Nicholas, Esq., appointment to be trustee for the high ways of Surrey. 1728.

[—] 71 The state of fforrest of Gillingham in the county of Dorsett. Some allegation of the inhabitants of Meere touching their common (Feb., 1646).

[—] 72-74. Documents concerning the riots at Gillingham 1642-1645.

[—] 75-76 Correspondance of the Honorable Sir John Nicholas. Letters written to him by Mr. Greene from April 2nd, 1698, to March 15th, 1700.

[—] 77 Letters addressed by various persons to Sir Edward Nicholas, principall secretary of State, chiefly in the years 1643 and 1644 during his stay at Pembroke College, Oxford, and also a few personal notes. [The bundle formerly bore the number 373, probably in the Nicholas records. One item bearing the number 289 is here probably by mistake.]

[—] 78 This bundle of letters under the title "*Shaston Letters to Mr. Edward Nicholas*" together with the number 1175 in the Nicholas Records, contains various letters written to the Hble Edward Nicholas, Esq., in the years 1723 and 1724, very few of these being written from Shaston or concerning Shaston. The two last items ought evidently to be classified elsewhere being related to the Gillingham riots (*see* No. 72-74).

[—] 79 Bundle of papers relating to Mr. Carthew's estate in Suffolk [Nos. 385 to 392 of the Nicholas records].

[—] 80 Extracts of records concerning Gillingham (xvith cent.) [No. 377 in the Nicholas records.]

[—] 81 Sandys *v.* Bell. Reports of renewal. Feb., 1764. [No. 433 of the Nicholas records.]

[—] 82 Gillingham. Bills and accounts, chiefly for 1701. [No. 374 of the Nicholas records.]

[—] 83 Gillingham. Accounts, chiefly of Mr. Lockyer for the years 1717-1725.

[R. 45817] 84 Miscellaneous papers, chiefly accounts of Mr. Lockyer and Mr. Lamb, 1689-1696.

[—] 85 Various papers concerning Gillingham and Shaston (xviith cent.).

[—] 86 Money matters concerning Sir Edward and the hon^{ble} John Nicholas.

[—] 87 A survey of the Mannor of Gillingham in the countie of Dorsett done by Gilbert Thacker, XXVI° Sept. Anno VI° Jocobi (1608).

[—] 88 A survey of the Coppiehould, tenants, within the Mannor of Gillingham, a particular of the lands every tenant houldeth and the content of acres and value of each particular, taken by Gilbert Thacker. Anno VI° Jacobi (1608).

III.

THE MEDICI RECORDS.

The documents contained in this series come from the Archives of the younger branch of the Florentine family of the Medici and belonged until recently to the Marquis Cosimo and the Marquis Averardo de' Medici. The whole of these Archives were put up for sale in London on the 26th of May, 1919,[1] and, after the Italian Government had exercised its right of priority, the largest part of what remained passed into the hands of Mr. Gordon Selfridge of London.

In the following list, the first number in brackets is the accession number in the John Rylands Library. The number in black type is the number of each document in the series. The other numbers are numbers which appears on the document and which were given by the various keepers of the Medici Archives in the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries.

[R. 45819] 1 [1].—Grant by Pietro di Pietro Petroni to the church and monastery of St. Barnabas, of Gamungno [Gamogna, in Valle Acerata, Romagna. Dioc. of Faenza], of the fourth part of a house, land and vineyard, in Salaiolo. April 10th, 1085.

"Im n[omine] d[omi]ni d[e]i et[er]ni, anni ab i[n]carnatione ej[us] octogesimo quinto post mille, quarto idus ap[ri]lis, indictione octavas.

[1] *Catalogue of the Medici Archives . . . which will be sold by auction at Messrs Christie, Manson and Woods . . . on Monday, May* 26, 1919. A note on the history of the collection by Mr. Royall Tyler, will be found on pp. 3-11 of this catalogue.

"*Et ideo cristo auctorem ego Petrus filio b[one] m[emorie] item petroni p[er] ac cartula offersionis nomine a p[re]senti die darem et tradere adque offerre p[re]vidi in eclesia et monisterio s[an]c[t]i barnabe apostoli . . . to gamu[n]gno ubi modo petrus priorem servire videtur, ide quartam porsionem de una casa et terra et vinea et clausura q[ue] est posita in loco Salaiolo, q[ue] de tres partis decurrit eis via da quarta partem sicut est a t[er]minata et desingnata scerto ante pono t[er]ra q[ue] dedit Joh[anne]s et Albertus alia onnia et im o[n]nibus ; cu[m] onnia[m] super se et infra se abentes in integru[m] ipsa eclesia et monisterio dare et trader[e] adque offerre p[re]vidi onni tepore ad jura p[ro]prietatem de ipsa eclesia et monisterio vel aeru[m] vocatoribus firma et stavilem permaneat semp[er] et quo fieri non credos si forsitas ego q[uidem] petrus vel meis filis et h[e]r[e]d[i]bus aut sumissa p[er]sona que nos miserim[us] q[ui]a ad ipsa eclesia et monisterio retollere contradicere minuar[e] aut intemsionar[e] p[re]su[m]serim-[us] aut predicto petrus vel meis filis et h[e]r[e]d[i]bus p[re]dicta casa et t[er]ra et vinea[m] sicut sup[er] legitur . . . consortibus meis . . . ad ipsa eclesia et monisterio defendere no[n] potuerim[us] et no[n] defensaverim[us] t[un]c dubpla tantalem p[re]dicta t[er]ra et casa cu[m] onnes defisio suo in consimilem locis de meis p[ro]pris reb[us] a pars ipsius eclesia et monisterio restituere et p[er]solvere debeam[us] et si lioportu[m] fuerit ad illis vocatoribus qui modo sunt aut . . . fuit de p[re]dicta eclesia licensia et potestatem abeatis una cum ista cartula causa exinde agendu[m] fine ponendu[m] responsu[m] reden-du[m] et usque a vera legem p[er]ducendu[m] qua melius potueritis sicut ego facere debuit. Actum in loco Salaiolo in diocesi arrentinas.*

"*Singnu[m] manu[m] ja[m]dicto Petrus q[ui] anc cartula offer-sionis p[ro] sol[i]d[is] viginti quem ego abeo fieri rogavit.*

"*Singnu[m] manibus gherardo filio . . . petroni et petrus filio b[one] m[emorie] remberti et Joh[anne]s filio b[one] m[emorie] petroni rogatis testiss.*

"*Ego uuldo notarius scriptor post tradita complevit.*"

[R. 45820] 2 [69. 8].—Extract (for Alberto Chisso de' Falconieri) of a pardon granted to various persons exiled for disobedience by Bonino Lippi de' Medici, Gonfaloniere of Justice of Florence and the six Priors of the Arts, on the fourteenth of October, 1312. The extract is the work of Jacomo di Maestro Salvi de' Medici, public notary.

[R. 45834] 3 [117. 9].—The will of Donna Migliora, the widow of Ugolino, of the popolo di San Michele, of Cafaggiolo (near Florence, on the road to Bologna). April 24th, 1322.

[R. 45835] 4 [136. 25. *10*].—Sale by Forcino di Duodo di Farneta to Lapo di Azzo de' Marzinghi di Campi, of a piece of land in the territory of Artiminio (in the val d'Arno, 6 or 7 miles W. of Florence). Oct. 17th, 1324.

[R. 45835] 5 [122. 27. *12*].—Power of attorney from Filippo di Piero di Dardano degli Acciajuoli of the "popolo" of the SS. Apostoli in Florence for Odo di Gentile degli Altoviti, of the "popolo" of the SS. Apostoli, and Ser Giacomo di Pucci of Empoli, both notaries in Florence. (Florence, Sept. 30th, 1344.)

[R. 45836] 6 [136. 28. *13*].—Agreement for the marriage of Donna Simona di Guglielmo with Miniato di Brunaccio. (Nov. 11th, 1346.)

[R. 45837] 7 [*14*].—License given by the Gonfaloniere of Justice and the Priors of the Arts of Florence to the "Comune" of S. Maria di Terranuova (in Val d'Arno, 15 miles N.W. of Arezzo) to elect for a period of six months the warden of the fortress "del Borro." (Sept. 13th, 1347.)

[R. 45837] 8 [94. 30. *15*].—Official report of the election by the "Comune" of S. Maria di Terranuova of Ser Michele di Guiduccio as warden of the fortress "del Borro," the right of approbation of the "Comune" of Florence being reserved. (Oct. 8th, 1347.)

[R. 45837] 9 [171. 31. *16*].—Confirmation by the Gonfaloniere of Justice and the Priors of the Arts of Florence of the election of Ser Michele di Guiduccio as warden of the fortress "del Burro." (Oct. 26th, 1347.)

[R. 45838] 10 [114. 32. *17*].—The judgment of Franceschino di Francesco de' Medici, umpire between Spina di Pino di Spina Falconi and Forese di Giano di Pino, both of Florence. The latter is to pay 90 florins of gold to the former. (Florence, Nov. 20th, 1348.)

[R. 45821] 11 [141. 33. *18*].—Will of Franceschino di Francesco de' Medici. (Florence, May 22nd, 1354.)

[R. 45839] 12 [115. 71. *56*].—Order of the Court of the Podestat of Florence in favour of Giuliano di Giovenco de' Medici against Bartolino di Giovanni, his debtor. (February 22nd, 1393.)

[R. 45839] 13 [107. 72. *57*].—An agreement between Giulano and Averardo, sons of the late Giovenco di Ser Giovenco de' Medici concerning their father's estate and appointing umpires to settle the matter (January 14th, 1393).

[R. 45840] 14 [115. 73. *58*].—Lease by Nastagia and Ginevra, the daughters of the late Scolaio de' Cedernelli, to Francesco di Brunaccio of Trespiano, of a house and field in Trespiano (near Fiesole) for three years. (Florence, January 20th, 1393.)

[R. 45840] 15 [120. 74. *59*].—The decision of the umpires in the difference between Giuliano and Averardo, the sons of the late Giovenco di Ser Giovenco de' Medici. (Florence. January 20th, 1393.)

[R. 45822] 16 [97. 75. *60*].—The decision of the umpires in the difference between Francesco or Cecco di Brunaccio, of Trespiano, and Giovanni di fù Matteo of the popolo of Sant' Ambrogio in Florence. The judgment is for the latter and below are found the various proceedings before the Court of the Podestat for the enforcement of this decision. (Florence, March, 1394.)

[R. 45822] 17 [168. 76. *61*].—Agreement between Giovanni di Matteo and Piero di Santa Maria a Trespiano, the latter acting for Cecco di Brunaccio, to accept as umpires in their difference Jacopo Ugolini of Bologna LL.D. and Sandro di Piero. (Florence. February, 1394.)

[R. 45823] 18 [201. 105. *89*].—Bull of Pope Pius II to the Archdeacon of Florence concerning the foundation of a canonry by Francesco Neroni-Nasi in the church of San Lorenzo. The Pope gives his consent if the founder is granting enough to support the new Canon. February, 18th, 1462.

"*Pius episcopus servus servorum Dei dilecto filio Archidiacono ecclesiae Florentinae Salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Sincerae devotionis affectus quem dilectus filius Franciscus Neronis Nasii, Civis Florentinus, ad nos et Romanam Ecclesiam gerit, promeretur ut votis suis praesertim ex quibus ecclesiarum collegiatarum decor et divini cultus succedit augmentum quantum cum Deo possumus favorabiliter annuamus. Exhibita siquidem nobis nuper pro parte dicti Francisci petitio continebat quod ipse pro salute suae animae et ecclesiae sancti Laurentii Florentinae quae collegiata et parrochialis est, et cujus ipse parrochianus extitit, decore et divini in ea cultus augmento pro . . . . . in illa continue servituro, unam prebendam dotare, et ne ille qui eam pro tempore obtinebit reliquis ipsius ecclesie canonicis in percipiendis quotidianis distributionibus onerosus existat mensae capitularis ipsius ecclesie redditus sufficienter augere intendit. Quare pro parte dicti Francisci nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum ut unum canonicatum et unam prebendam in ipsa ecclesia, cui dos per eum assignanda applicetur de novo creari et institui et jus patronatus in de novo creandis canonicatu et prebenda hujusmodi necnon presentandi personam ydoneam ad illos tam pro primaria vice quam quotiens eos in posterum vacare contigerit, sibi heredibusque et successoribus suis in perpetuum reservari mandare aliasque super hiis oportune providere de benignitate apostolica dignaremur. Nos igitur, qui divini cultus diligimus ubilibet incrementum, hujusmodi supplicationibus*

inclinati, discretioni tuae per apostolica scripta mandamus quatinus, vocatis dilectis filiis capitulo dictae ecclesiae et aliis qui fuerint evocandi, unum canonicatum et unam prebendam hujusmodi in dicta ecclesia, si et postquam ipse Franciscus pro dote ipsius prebendae necnon pro augmento reddituum quotidianarum distributionum sufficientes redditus mensae capitularis ipsius ecclesiae assignandos, ita quod novus canonicus reliquis onerosus non existat, realiter assignaverit, auctoritate nostra de novo crees, instituas atque erigas, necnon si creatione, institutione et erectione hujusmodi feceris, jus patronatus et praesentandi personam ydoneam ad ipsos canonicatum et prebendam tam pro primaria vice quam quotiens eos pro tempore vacare contigerit praefato Francisco ejusque heredibus et successoribus in perpetuum dicta auctoritate reserves atque concedas. Non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ac dictae ecclesiae statutis et consuetudinibus juramento confirmatione apostolica vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, anno Incarnationis Dominicae millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo primo. Duodecimo [*ante*] *Kalendas Martii. Pontificatus nostri anno Quarto.*

Seal: *PIVS. PAPA. II.*; on the back: *SPA. SPE.*
under the fold: *Fe. A de Reate G. de Piccolomin*[*ibus*]
intuitu . d . Ambrosii
on the fold: *Rptr.* *L. de Mancinis.*
on the back: *Rta. apud me G. de Piccolomin*[*ibus*]."

[R. 45824] 19 [147. 106. 90].—Will of Giovenco di fù Giuliano di Giovenco de' Medici, a citizen and a merchant of Florence. (Florence, Dec. 21st, 1462).

[R. 45824] 20 [147. 106, ?].—Acceptation of the above will by Giuliano, son and heir of the testator. (Florence, January 26th, 1463.)

[R. 45841] 21 [146. 125. *111*].—A roll (in a very dilapidated state of perservation) containing various legal acts referring to the lease in perpetuity of the lands belonging to the church of San Silvestro in Polvicchi in the diocese of Arezzo. (Florence. 1516.)

[R. 45825] 22 [126, *112*].—Confirmation of the above lease by Pope Leo X. (Rome, April 26th, 1517.)

"*LEO PP. Xs. Dilecti filii, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Exponi nobis fecerunt dilecti filii Franciscus Juliani de Medicis et Raphael ejus filius legitimus, cives Florentini, quod alius dilectus filius Joannes Blasii de Laterino, rector ecclesiae sancti Silvestri de Polvici, Aretinae diocesis, cupiens dictae ecclesiae, quae sine cura et quasi totaliter disruta existit, et vix ejus vestigia apparent, utilitate*

consulere, nonnulla bona immobilia in diocesi Aretina consistentia, ex quibus ipse Joannes et pro tempore existens Rector ipsius ecclesiae modicam percipiebat utilitatem, ad ipsam ecclesiam pertinentia praefatis Francisco et Raphaeli suisque et cujuslibet eorum successoribus per lineam masculinam descendentibus pro annuo censu sive canone stariorum octo grani, mensurae dicti loci de Laterino, quae valorem annuum unius ducati auri cum dimidio non excedunt, concessit; prout in instrumento desuper confecto plenius continetur. Quare pro parte dictorum Francisci et Raphaelis nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum, ut concessioni hujusmodi, quae in evidentem dictae ecclesiae cessit utilitatem, pro illius subsistentia firmiori robur apostolicae confirmationis adjicere aliasque in praemissis oportune providere de benignitate apostolica dignaremur. Nos de praemissis certam notitiam non habentes, ac tenorem dicti instrumenti pro expresso habentes, discretioni vestrae committimus et mandamus, quatenus, specificatis prius coram vobis possessionibus praedictis, si per diligentem examinationem super praemissis et eorum circumstanciis per vos desuper faciendam conjunctim procedendo, et servata forma litterarum foelicis etc. Pauli papae secundi, predecessoris nostri, 'cum in omnibus judiciis' incipientium, concessionem predictam in evidentem utilitatem dictae ecclesiae cessisse reperitis, concessionem ipsam, ac prout illam concernunt omnia et singula in dicto instrumento contenta approbetis et confirmetis, suppleatisque omnes et singulos tam juris quam facti defectus, si qui forsan intervenerint in eadem. Non obstantibus praemissis ac constitutionibus apostolicis, caeterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris die XXVI Aprilis MDXVII. Pontificatus nostri anno quinto. (signed) *BEMBUS.*"

(On the back): *Dilectis filiis Joanni de la Luna, canonico ecclesiae Florentinae, et Praeposito Monasterii; per Praepositum gubernari soliti Omnium Sanctorum Florentini.*

[R. 45826] 23 [198. 129. *114*].—A letter of Pope Leo X to his kinsman Zanobi de' Medici, on his return from Constantinople, urging him to proceed to Rome. (Rome, July 13th, 1521.)

"*LEO* $\overline{PP}$. *X^s.*—*Dilecte fili salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Quod ex Bizantio ad civitatem nostram Anconam incolumis redieris, atque hi exitus navigationis tibi fuerint, quos sperabas, sane pro nostra in te paterna dilectione non parum gavisi sumus. Quem quoniam multis de causis non solum videre, sed etiam in Domino complecti cupimus, gratum nobis feceris, si recta ad nos atque ad præsentiam nostram te contuleris; quod minime dubitamus, te pro*

tua in nos reverentia et cultu diligenter esse facturum. Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris die XIII Julii MDXXI. Pontificatus nostri anno Nono. (Signed) *BEMBUS. per Favorinum de Man^to.*

(On the back): *Dilecto filio Zenobio de Medicis, civi Florentino, nostro secundum carnem consanguineo.*"

[R. 45827] 24 [119].—Credentials of Francesco de' Medici as envoy of Pope Clement VII to Charles de Bourbon, Count of Saint Pol, commander-in-chief of the French troops in Italy. (Rome, May 30th, 1529.)

"*CLEMENS. PP. VII.—Dilecte fili salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Reverso ad nos dilecto filio Johanne de la Stufa, cujus opere in nonnullis aliis rabus nostris egemus, mittimus ad nobilitatem tuam dilectum filium Franciscum de Medicis, familiarem et camerarium nostrum, apud te mansurum nostro nomine, ut si qua in re benivolentiam ergo te nostram exhibere possimus, habeas propius, cui tua desideria concredere, et ad nos deferre possis. Perstamus enim et semper, fili, perstabimus in nostra veteri erga te charitate et affectu praesertim ad commune totius christianitatis bonum procurandum, in quod nunquam cessabimus incumbere. Hortamur eandem nobilitatem tuam ut et ipsum Franciscum benigne suscipere, et fidem ei tam nunc quam quotienscumque te nostro nomine alloquetur habere indubiam velis. Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris die XXX Maii MDXXIX Pontificatus nostri anno sexto.*

(Signed) *BLOSIUS.*

(On the back): *Dilecto filio nobili viro Domino Sancti Pauli, exercitus Christianissimi Regis in Italia capitaneo generali.*

[R. 45828] 25 [*126*].—Letter of Cosimo I, Duke of Florence, to the Marquis of Aguilar, Ambassador of the Emperor at the Roman Court, to introduce to him Raffaello de' Medici and Prinzivalle della Stufa, Florentine envoys at the same court, who are to give him some messages. (Florence, August 30th, 1540.)

[R. 45842] 26 [*130*].—Ratification made before Thomas Wytton, notary public in London, of the sale by Piero Spinelli to Olivo di Michele Olivi, of some land near the river "Vingonia." (London, July 30th, 1561.)

[R. 45829] 27 [56. 134. *131*].—Patent of Cosimo I, Duke of Florence, enabling Raffaello di Francesco de' Medici, to enter the Order of San Stefano. (Pisa, May 28th, 1565.)

[R. 45830] 28 [75. 135. *133*].—Patent of Cosimo I, Duke of Florence, granting to the daughters of Captain Giuliano de' Medici, part of their

father's property which had been confiscated. (Florence, April 6th, 1569.)

[R. 45831] 29 [236. 240 *248*].—Patent of Cosimo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany, Grand Master of the Order of San Stefano, granting to Bartolomeo de' Medici, knight of San Stefano, a rent on the revenues of the Priory of Lucca, vacant by the death of Francesco Venturi. (Florence, April 27th, 1680.)

[R. 45831] 30 [236. 241. *251*].—Patent of the same, granting to the same a rent on the Fattoria of Fojano, vacant by the death of Bartolommeo de' Bandinelli. (Florence, April 25th, 1683.)

[R. 45831] 31 [242. *252*].—Patent of the same, granting to the same the benefice known as the "commanda" of San Zanobi. (Pisa, April 19th, 1689.)

[R. 45831] 32 [*253*].—Patent of the same, granting to the same another rent on the revenues of the Priory of Lucca, vacant by the death of Filippo Bentivoglio. (Pisa, April 15th, 1692.)

[R. 45831] 33 [239, 247, *257*].—Patent of the same, granting to Francesco Maria de' Medici, a knight of San Stefano, the preceptory of Barenga. (Florence, February 1st, 1708.)

[R. 45832] 34 [239, *247*].—Patent of the same, being the investiture of the Marquisate of Castellina to the Rev. Canon and Knight Antonio de' Medici, eldest son of the Marquis Lorenzo. (Pisa, March 6th, 1678.)

[R. 45833] 35 [254. *266*].—Patent of Gian Gastone de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, being the investiture of the same Marquisate to Francesco Maria de' Medici. (Florence, Sept. 23rd, 1724.)

[R. 45843] 36 [23].—Letter of Pier Francesco de' Medici to Francesco de' Medici, "*commissario de la Montagnia di Pistoia.*" (Florence, January 23rd, 1504.)

[R. 45843] 37 [33].—Pier Francesco de' Medici to Francesco de' Medici, Captain of Pistoja. (Florence, January 21st, 1512.)

[R. 45843] 38 [39].—Same to same. (February 28th, 1512.)

[—] 39 [50].— —do— (Florence, Aug. 24th, 1515.)

[—] 40 [51].— —do— (Cafaggiolo, Sept. 25th, 1515.)

[R. 45844] 41 [54].—Federigo Strozzi, Captain and Commissary at Pistoja, to Francesco de' Medici, Gonfaloniere of Justice at Florence. (Pistoja, April 28th, 1516.)

[—] 42 [55].—Same to same. (Pistoja, May 1st, 1516.)

[R. 45845] 43 [56].—Giovanni di Pier Francesco de' Medici to same. (n.p. n.d.)

[R. 45846] 44 [57].—Goro Gheri to same. (May 3rd, 1516.)

[R. 45847] 45 [179].—Francesco I, Grand Duke of Tuscany, Grand Master of the Order of San Stefano, to Raffaello de' Medici. (Florence, March 27th, 1575.)

[—] 46 [180].—Same to same. (Florence, Sept. 2nd, 1575.)

[—] 47 [181].— —do— (—do— June, 1576.)

[—] 48 [182].— —do— (—do— Aug. 4th, 1576.)

[—] 49 [183].— —do— (—do— Aug. 15th, 1576.)

[—] 50 [184].— —do— (—do— January 6th, 1577.)

[R. 45848] 51 [16].—Francesco Maria II., Duke of Urbino, to Raffaello de' Medici. (Urbino, June 21st, 1580.)

[R. 48226] 52 Cosimo I, Duke of Florence, to the "camerlingho" of Pisa. (Florence, March 3rd, 1541.)

[R. 48225] 53 The same to the Consuls and Governors of "La Misericordia" in Rome. (Florence, Oct. 4th, 1564.)

[—] 54 The same to Giovanni Baptista di San Martino in Castracaro. (Pisa, Dec. 12th, 1559.)

[—] 55 Ferdinando de' Medici, Cardinal (afterwards Duke of Florence), to Francesco di Piero d' Appiculo. (August 7th, 1565.)

[—] 56 A declaration of Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici relating to certain pensions on the churches of Salterra in the diocese of Sevilla. (Roma, April 28th, 1579.)

[—] 57 Patent by Ferdinando I, Duke of Florence and Grand Master of the Order of San Stefano, for the admission of Gabriele Calderone, as a knight of the aforesaid Order. (Florence, Dec. 10th, 1596.)

[—] 58 Ferdinando I to the Count of San Secondo. (Florence, Jan. 10th, 1589.)

[—] 59 Same to same. (Florence, Sept. 26th, 1589.)

[—] 60 Ferdinando I to the Marquis Biagio Capizucchi in Avignon. (Florence, Aug. 10th, 1594.)

[—] 61.—Same to same. (Leghorn, April 22nd, 1595.)

[—] 62.— —do— (Ambrogiana, Dec. 31st, 1595.)

[—] 63.— —do— (Siena, June 19th, 1596.)

[—] 64.— —do— (Florence, Aug. 16th, 1596.)

[—] 65.— —do— (Ambrogiana, Nov. 28th, 1596.)

[—] 66.— —do— (Pisa, February 4th, 1597.)

[—] 67.— —do— (Ambrogiana, May, 21st, 1597.)

[—] 68.— —do— (—do— May, 21st 1597.)

[—] 69.— —do — (Florence, June 1st, 1598.)

[—] 70.— —do— (—do— January, 19th, 1599.)

[—] 71.— —do— (—do— Aug. 16th, 1599.)

[—] 72.— —do— (Caffaggiolo, Oct. 4th, 1599.)

[R. 48225] 73.—Same to same. (Leghorn, April 8th, 1600.)
[—] 74.— —dº— (Pisa, April 3rd, 1601.)
[—] 75.— —dº— (—dº— May 2nd, 1601.)
[—] 76.— —dº— (Florence, June 4th, 1601.)
[—] 77.— —dº— (—dº— Oct. 4th, 1601.)
[—] 78.— —dº— (Pisa, Nov. 15th, 1601.)
[—] 79.—Ferdinando I to the Marquis Biagio Capizucchi in Avignon. (Villa Ferdinanda, July 17th, 1602.)
[—] 80.— Same to same. (Pratolino, Sept. 26th, 1602.)
[—] 81.— —dº— in Roma. (Ambrogiana, Jan. 8th, 1608.)
[—] 82.—Same to Mario, Camillo and Paolo Capizucchi in Roma. (Florence, June 29th, 1596.)
[—] 83.—Same to Camillo Capizucchi in Roma. (Ambrogiana, June 5th, 1595.)
[—] 84.— Same to same. (Pisa, April 9th, 1596.)
[—[85.—Same to Mario Capizucchi in Roma. (Pisa, April 9th, 1596.)
[—] 86.— Same to same. (Ambrogiana, Dec. 7th, 1597.)
[—] 87.— Same to same. (Florence, Aug. 6th, 1604.)
[—] 88.—Same to Paolo Capizucchi in Roma. (Pisa, Feb. 21st, 1602.)
[—] 89.— Same to same. (Florence, Sept. 3rd, 1604.)
[—] 90.—Same to Don Michele Bonello, in Roma. (Florence, June 6th, 1598.)
[—] 91.—Same to Cardinal Monreale. (Montevetturino, Dec. 22nd, 1606.)
[—] 92.—Christina of Lorraine (the wife of Ferdinando I) to her husband. (Castello, Nov. 28th, 1634.)
[—] 93.—Same to Marquis Capizucchi, General of the Cavalry of H.H. in Montieri. (Florence, July 22nd, 1601.)
[—] 94.—Same to Biagio Capizucchi, General of the Pontifical army in Avignon. (Pisa, March 19th, 1602.)
[—] 95.—Same to Mario Capizucchi in Roma. (Leghorn, Feb. 16th, 1605.)
[—] 96.—Same to the Sigª Marchesa Hortensia Marescotti Capizucchi in Roma. (Pisa, Feb. 22nd, 1608.)
[—] 97.— Same to same. (Siena, May 26th, 1614.)
[—] 98.— —dº— (Florence, March 9th, 1620.)
[—] 99.—Same to the Count of San Secondo, in Parma. (Florence, March 20th, 1628.)
[—] 100.— Same to same in San Secondo. (Florence, Aug. 24th, 1628.)
[—] 101.— Same to same. (Florence, Oct. 13th, 1620.)
[—] 102.— —dº— (Florence, Apr. 5th, 1621.)

R. 48225] 103.—Same to the Countess of San Secondo, in Parma. (n.p., May 10th, 1616.)

[—] 104.—Same to the Marchesa di Treggiano in Modena. (Leghorn, March 8th, 1599.)

[—] 105.—Same to the Cardinal of Monreale. (Ambrogiana, Nov. 26th, 1686.)

[—] 106.— Same to same. (Pisa, Jan. 1st, 1687.)

[—] 107.—Cardinal Carlo de' Medici (the son of Ferd. I) to ? (Florence, Nov. 29th, 1619.)

[—] 108.—Cosimo II, Grand Duke of Tuscany, to the Count of San Secondo (Florence, Oct. 29th, 1619.)

[—] 109.—Same to the Marquis di Montieri, General of Cavalry, in Pescia. (Florence, Aug. 9th, 1613.)

[—] 110.— Same to same. (Florence, Aug. 11th, 1613.)

[—] 111.—Same to Paolo Capizucchi in Roma. (Florence, Feb. 24th, 1609.)

[—] 112.— Same to same in Roma. (Florence, Oct. 5th, 1609.)

[—] 113.—Copy of letters to Cardinal Borghese and others. (Pisa, Feb. 1610.)

[—] 114.—The Archduchess Maria Maddalena (wife of Cosimo II) to the Count of San Secondo, in San Secondo. (Florence, Apr. 14th, 1626.)

[—] 115.—Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici (son of Cosimo II) to R. P. Raymondo Capizucchi, in Roma. (Florence, July 15th, 1650.)

[—] 116.— Same to same. (Florence, Jan. 17th, 1672.)

[—] 117.— —dº— (—dº— May 1st, 1674.)

[—] 118.— —dº— (—dº— May 8th, 1674.)

[—] 119.—Same to Alessandro Capizucchi. (Pisa, Feb. 17th, 1672.)

[—] 120.—Patent by Ferdinando II, Grand Duke of Tuscany, Grand Master of the Order of San Stephano, granting to Francesco di Calderone his admission into the said Order. (Florence, Oct. 1st, 1648.)

[—] 121.—The same privilege for Gaspardo di Calderone. (Florence, Oct. 15th, 1627.)

[—] 122.—Ferdinando II to Monsr. Bonelli, Archbp. of Corinth. (Florence, Nov. 18th, 1656.)

[—] 123.— Same to same. (Florence, July 1st, 1661.)

[—] 124.— —dº— in Madrid. (—dº— Oct. 3rd, 1663.)

[—] 125.—Same to Cardinal Bonelli in Madrid. (Pisa, Jan 16th, 1664.)

[R. 48225] 126.—Same to the Count of San Secondo in Milan. (Florence, Sept. 21st, 1653.)
[—] 127.—Same to Rev. P. Raymondo Capizucchi in Roma. (Florence, Apr. 25th, 1653.)
[—] 128.— Same to same. (—do— Aug. 16th, 1650.)
[—] 129.— —do— (—do— Nov, 11th, 1669.)
[—] 130.— —do— (—do— Nov. 26th, 1669.)
[—] 131.—Same to Francesco Capizucchi. (Pisa, Jan. 28th, 1670.)
[—] 132.—Same to Duchess Bonelli in Citta della Piave. (Florence, March 17th, 1648.)
[—] 133.—Same to the Marquis of Cassano in Roma. (Florence, Aug. 8th, 1630.)
[—] 134.— Same to same. (—do— Sept. 30th, 1637.)
[—] 135.—Vittoria della Rovere (wife of Ferd. II) to the Count Alessandro Capizucchi in Roma. (Florence, Apr. 19th, 1678.)
[—] 136.— Same to same. (Florence, July 25th, 1679.)
[—] 137.— —do— (Leghorn, Feb. 22nd, 1681.)
[—] 138.— —do— (Florence, Sept. 9th, 1681.)
[—] 139.— —do— (—do— Nov. 7th, 1682.)
[—] 140.—Same to Cardinal Capizucchi (—do— Sept. 9th, 1681.)
[—] 141.—Cardinal Francesco Maria de' Medici (son of Ferd. II) to Cardinal Capizucchi in Roma. (Florence, Sept. 7th, 1686.)
[—] 142.— Same to same. (Florence, July 29th, 1687.)
[—] 143.— —do— (—do— Dec. 31st, 1702.)
[—] 144.—Cosimo III Grand Duke of Tuscany, to the Pope. (Florence, Aug. 4th, 1711.)
[—] 145.—Same to Marquis Rinuccinii. (—do— March 7th, 1721.)
[—] 146.— —do— (—do— March 24th, 1721.)
[—] 147.— —do— (—do— April 9th, 1720.)
[—] 148.— —do— (—do— April 11th, 1720.)
[—] 149.— —do— (—do— Feb. 28th, 1721.)
[—] 150.— —do— (? Jan. 18th, 1727.)
[—] 151.— Same to ? (Ambrogiana, Apr. 9th, 1681.)
[—] 152.— Same to ? (Florence, Sept. 22nd, 1681.)
[—] 153.—Same to Cardinal Bonelli, in Madrid. (Pisa, Jan. 16th,1664.)
[—] 154.—Same to Marquis Ruspoli. (Pisa, Jan. 28th, 1671.)
[—] 155.—Same to Cardinal Marescotti, in Ferrara. (Villa di Castello, June 8th, 1677.)
[—] 156.—Same to Count of San Secondo. (Florence, Jan. 31st, 1699.)
[—] 157.— Same to same. (Pisa, Feb. 15th, 1700.)
[—] 158.— —do— (Florence, Dec. 17th, 1709.)

[R. 48225] 159.—Same to same. (Florence, Feb. 12th, 1712.)
[—] 160.— —do— (—do— Nov. 26th, 1715.)
[—] 161.—Same to Marquis Alessandro Capizucchi in Roma. (Florence, March 12th, 1672.)
[—] 162.— Same to same. (Leghorn, Feb. 21st, 1681.)
[—] 163.— —do— (Florence, Sept. 9th, 1681.)
[—] 164.— —do— (—do— Nov. 3rd, 1682.)
[—] 165.— —do— (—do— Aug. 12th, 1690.)
[—] 166.— —do— (—do— May, 5th, 1691.)
[—] 167.— —do— (—do— Sept. 22nd, 1691.)
[—] 168.—Same to Rev. Fra Raimondo Capizucchi in Roma. (Florence, June 21st, 1670.)
[—] 169.— Same to same. (Ambrogiana, March 18th, 1681.)
[—] 170.— —do— (Pisa, Feb. 14th, 1681.)
[—] 171.— —do— (Florence, June 24th, 1681.)
[—] 172.—Same to Cardinal Capizucchi (—do—, Sept. 7th, 1681.)
[—] 173.— Same to same. (—do—, Sept. 6th, 1681.)
[—] 174.— —do— (—do—, Apr, 29th, 1684.)
[—] 175.— —do— (—do—, March 27th, 1685.)
[—] 176.— —do— (—do—, Sept. 10th, 1686.)
[—] 177.— —do— (—do—, Nov. 9th, 1686.)
[—] 178.—Same to Carlo Vatticelli in Mirandola. (Florence, Jan. 16th, 1671.)
[—] 179.—Same to Marquis Carlo Malaspina di Treschietto, in Mantova. (Florence, Oct. 22d, 1686.)
[—] 180.—Same to Monsigr. Filipacci in Roma. (Florence, Jan. 10th, 1702.)
[—] 181.—Prince Ferdinando (son of Cosimo III) to Cardinal Astalli, in Ferrara. (Pratolino, Sept. 10th, 1701.)
[—] 182.—Same to Monsr. di Vico in Roma. (Pisa, Dec. 31st, 1708.)
[—] 183.—Same to Marquis Muzio Spada, in Faenza. (Florence, April 20th, 1709.)
[—] 184.—Same to Count of San Secondo. (Poggio Imperiale, Oct. 22d, 1709.)
[—] 185.—Principessa Violante Beatrice di Bavaria (wife of Prince Ferdinando) to ? (Pisa, Dec. 31st, 1701.)
[—] 186.—Same to Cardinal Albani. (Florence, Dec. 31st, 1717.)
[—] 187.—Same to Count Galli in Parma. (Florence, July 27th, 1728.)
[—] 188.—Don Pietro Medici to his father (?) (Leghorn. Oct. 3d, 1681.)
[—] 189.—Don Ottaviano Medici to the Cardinal of Monreale. (Florence, Oct. 20th, 1606.)

[R. 45849] 190 [N°. 2, Classe V, Armadio N°. 3].—*Fogli d'interesse generale della casa Medici e d'interesse particolare di vari signori fino a Raffaello seniore e suo figlio.*

f° 1: Indice de Fasci componenti la presente filza di . . . la quale comprende i fogli d'interesse generale della Casa Medici e d'interesse particolare di vari signori della medesima fino a Raffaello seniore e suo figlio.

A.—Fascio de' fogli di Decime e gravezze generali, o risguardanti i beni di Firenze o i beni delle Fattorie in confuso e volture di decime.

B.—Fascio de' fogli risguardanti i beni di Firenze, i Luoghi di Monte, i fidecommissi ed altri affari d'interesse generale della Casa Medici.

C.—Fascio de' fogli d'interesse particolare di vari signori della Casa Medici.

D.—Fascio de' fogli d'interesse della Sig^ra^ Giulietta del Capitano Giuliano de' Medici, Moglie del Sr Dott^e^ Annibale Faltroni, di detto suo marito, e della di lei eredita pervenuta nel Sr Bali Raffaello de' Medici.

E.—Fascio de' fogli d'interesse di Francesco di Giuliano di Giovenco de' Medici e del Sr Raffaello, seniore di lui figlio e del Sig^r^ Francesco di lui nipote e padre del Sig^r^ Bali Raffaello.

(Five bundles of respectively 215, 201, 29, 37 and 81 leaves bound together, with an index for each bundle.)

[R. 45850] 191 [N° 5, Classe XIII, Armadio N° 10].—*Processo Medici rettore della cappella di Garnialla e Galigai e cc^ti^ beni Spezzati.* A Lawsuit between Canon Guiliano del Bali Raffaello de' Medici, of one part and the heirs of Antonio Galigai, the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, and Zanobi Carnesechi, of the other part, about the chapel of Santa Maria di Garnialla, in the diocese of Fiesole (1596-1611). 1 vol. Paper. 314 ff. with an index at the beginning.

[R. 45850] 192 [N°. 1, Classe XV, Armadio N°. 24].—*Contratti non attenenti alla Casa Medici.*

At the beginning is found an index of the various deeds included in the volume. These date from 1376 to 1615, and the following note is added: "Potrebbe essere che qualcuno di questi contratti corredasse qualche acquisto di beni, o interessasse la Casa Medici per qualche ragione non conosciuta da chi ha riordinato l'archivio, pero meritano di essere conservati." 1 vol. Paper. 202 ll.

[R. 45850] 193 [N°. 2, Classe XV, Armadio N°. 24].—*Fogli vari non attenenti alla nostra casa.* (Miscellany of various deeds, notes and accounts. (1400-1762.) 1 vol. Paper.

[R. 45851] 194 [N°. 10, Classe XV, Armadio N°. 24].—*Libri diversi non attenenti alla nostra casa.* (A bundle of five booklets.)

I.—Account book of Tommaso di Jacopo Trinati, Florentine. 1600-1611.

II.—Account book of Tommaso di Jacopo Trinati, Florentine. 1600-1614.

III.—Account book of Ascanio Lini, for Fra Cesare Bergiano. 1613-1619.

IV.—Account book for the management of the benefice of S. Jacomo d'Arezzo, of the Order of Malta, held by Fra Cesare Belgiamo di San Albano. 1611-1620.

VI.—Account book for the management of the benefice of S. Jacomo d'Arezzo, of the Order of Malta, held by Fra Cesare Belgiamo di San Albano. 1611-1620.

[R. 45851] 195.—*Di vari signori* (a miscellany of nine booklets or bundles.

I.—Ricevute del Sig^{r} Giuliano Figlio di Raffaello seniore dal 1554 al 1556.

II.—Ricevute di Francesco di Giuliano de' Medici dal 1575 al 1621.

III.—Ricevute di Francesco di Giuliano de' Medici dal 1569 al 1587.

V.—Ricevute di Francesco di Giuliano de' Medici dal 1609 al 1635.

VI.—Ricevute della sig^{ra} Fiammetta, moglie di Francesco. 1629.

VII.—Ricevute di Cosimo di Francesco dal 1622 al 1662.

VIII.—Ricevute del Sig. Cosimo e Alessandro Medici. Dec. 14th, 1635-Apr. 5th, 1660.

IX.—Ricevute del sig. Cosimo Medici. Apr. 10th, 1660-Oct. 14th, 1667.

X.—Ricevute del sig. Alessandro di Francesco dal 1634 (1633-1635).

[R. 45851 196.—*Ricevute di Diversi* (a miscellany of six booklets and bundles).

(Not numbered).—Account book of Giuliano di Giovenco de' Medici (1398).

I.—Book of receipts of Goro di Campogiallo. 1611-1621.

II.—Book of receipts of Pietro Massai. 1635-1676.

IV.—Receipts concerning the Order of San Stefano. 1580-1582.

IV.—Various receipts. 1550-1760.

V.—Account book of Fra Cesare Belgiamo, Commander of the Order of Malta, for the benefice of San Jacopo. (1613-1620.)

[R. 45851] 197.—*Di vari signori* (a miscellany of four little bundles).

I.—Ricevute del capitano Giuliano di Giovenco de' Medici, si crede che sia il padre della signora Giulietta.

II.—Ricevute della signora Giulietta di Giuliano dal 1605 al 1607.

III.—Ricevute attenenti a Francesco di Giuliano e a Raffaello seniore, di lui figlio.

IV.—Ricevute attenenti agl' credi di Raffaello seniore.

[R. 45851] 198.—*Del Bali Raffaello* (a large bundle of receipts of Raffaello Medici. 1621-1634.)